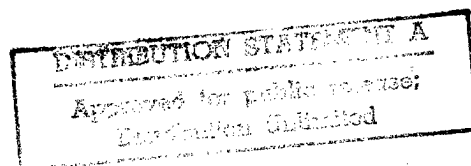


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5 April 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 April 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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DEVELOPMENT, PRESENT FUNCTION OF CSSR POLITICAL SYSTEM SUMMARIZED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 2, Jan 84 pp 84-94

[Article by Stanislav Matousek, faculty of law, Comenius University, Bratislava: "February 1948 and the Czechoslovak Political System"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak political system can be characterized in broad terms as a concrete historical dialectic unity of political relations and interests of political ideology and real political consciousness of laws and legal norms and political institutions. In a narrower sense, it can be described as a complicated, elaborate, and dialectically related complex, as a system of state and social organs, organizations and institutions, as well as of the norms and traditions linking this system to the assumption of power by the working class, collective peasants, the working intelligentsia and other working people under the leadership of the working class and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. The CPCZ, the leading force and organizer of the entire socialist political system and at the same time a guarantor of its further revolutionary development, is a basic and determining part of the socialist political system. It is its political nucleus and its irreplaceable center. The socialist state and the entire state machinery, which is the main and determining mover of all socialist transformation, are the significant parts of the Czechoslovak political system. The building of a developed socialist society is being implemented under the guidance of the CPCZ primarily by the socialist organs of state power--namely, the Czechoslovak representative organs (the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, the Slovak National Council and the national committees). The protectors of this system are the judicial organs, the organs of the procuracy and of the people's control, the security forces, the People's Militia and the People's Army. Experience has shown that a strong and ever-growing and improving socialist state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which gradually changes in a socialist all-people's state is an indispensable and imperative need for socialist society and its successful construction in a class-divided world, which especially today is characterized by an increased threat from imperialist aggression aimed at destroying the entire socialist system.

Various social and political organizations involved in the platform of the National Front through which the working people satisfy their individual interests and needs as well as the needs and interests of the entire society

and the entire state are a significant institutional part of the Czechoslovak political system. The political and social organizations and the Czechoslovak National Front create the ever-growing basis for developing socialist democracy through which the broad masses of the working people participate in the management and administration of the socialist state and society. The present political mission of the political and social organizations and of the entire National Front is actively to clarify and realize, within the limits of their possibilities, the policy of the CPCZ, carefully to coordinate their activities and cooperate with the state organs, especially with the representative assemblies, actively to defend the interest of the working people, to organize labor and economic initiative and the activities of the working people, to harmonize the individual interests of the working people with the interests and needs of the entire society, to educate the working people and organize their participation in economic and political life and in economic and political management.

The most recent theoretical notion of scientific communism and other Marxist-Leninist disciplines justifiably include in the socialist political system also the working collectives as the basic cells of a socialist society. They perform immediate and direct production, the economic or other activity for which they had been created. Workers of production enterprises, cooperatives, service organizations, offices, schools, cultural institutions, etc., are mutually interrelated through common work, common interests, common participation in the administration and management of state and social affairs. The working collectives underlie basic party organizations and trade union, youth and other social organizations. The working collective, as the basic cell of a socialist society, is at the same time a point of confluence of the influence of the economy, politics and culture. These areas overlap here and are integrated at this basic level into a whole. For this reason, the new Soviet Constitution of 1977 lists the working collectives as part of the country's political system delineates their tasks in a way that makes it possible for them to take part in discussing and deciding state and social affairs, in planning production and social development, in training and placing the cadres, in discussing and solving questions concerning the management of enterprises and institutions, in improving working and living conditions, in making full use of the means earmarked for the development of production as well as for social and cultural institutions and material incentives. The working collectives also organize socialist competition, help in disseminating progressive work methods, strengthen labor discipline, and educate their members in the spirit of communist morality. They also try to improve the members' political consciousness, cultural level, and technical qualification. Following a provision of the Soviet Constitution, in 1983 the Supreme Soviet passed a special law concerning the working collectives which increased their role in the management of enterprises, facilities and organizations. This law spells out in detail and in precise language the legal position, jurisdiction and concrete obligations of the working collectives and the forms in which their jurisdiction is exercised in the pertinent spheres of activity (for example, in planning economic and social development, in negotiating collective contracts and safeguarding socialist property, in rationally utilizing material resources, in maintaining labor discipline, etc.).

It is obvious that the inclusion of the working collectives in the political system of developed socialism is a creative contribution of Soviet science and practice. It demonstrates a high degree of development and maturity of Soviet society and has an international impact. It also is an impulse for Czechoslovak science and practice as far as the understanding of the content of the Czechoslovak political system and of its dynamic development in the conditions of building a developed socialist society are concerned.

We are also including in the Czechoslovak political system political norms, resolutions of the CPCZ and of social organizations, socialist legal norms, as well as the revolutionary and progressive traditions because they determine the position and tasks of the individual parts of the political system, the relations between them and the effect on the harmonious and smooth functioning of the entire system in fulfilling the task to construct a developed socialist society. Here, a major role is being played by the mass communications media.

It is obvious that the Czechoslovak political system, if understood in this way, be it in its broader or narrower characterization, did not originate as a result of an accident or an uncontrolled process. It came about as a consequence of the victorious socialist revolution in February 1948 which opened the way for the laying of the foundations of a socialist society and for a full application of the general laws of the socialist social development harmoniously linked to the utilization of specific Czechoslovak national characteristics and peculiarities.

The historic significance of February 1948 lies in the fact that it made it possible to build a qualitatively new people's democratic and socialist political system, fully determined by the general laws of building a socialist society, applied creatively to concrete Czechoslovak conditions and national differences. The CPCZ, as the main inspiration for the birth and development of the new people's democratic and later socialist political system, faced in February 1948 an especially difficult and sensitive task: to build and complete a new political system on the ruins of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary and pluralistic political system which had a relatively long historical tradition from the period of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Republic. This was a system which the bourgeois ideologues, theoreticians and politicians grandly glorified and presented as a model of "pure democracy," a system which no other development could surpass. The effectiveness of the bourgeois ideological "argumentation," especially as far as the numerous petit-bourgeois strata are concerned, was before and after February 1948 augmented by attacks against the Soviet socialist political system, which was pictured as undemocratic, totalitarian, etc. Within the context of this sharp class, political and ideological struggle it was very necessary to respect especially certain traditional democratic institutions which could also be used--if equipped with a new class content--in building a new people's democratic political system (for example, the president as head of state, the system of the supreme state organs--the National Assembly, the government, the president--basic rights and freedoms, the form of the state, etc.).

At the same time, one has to see that the origins and political ideas concerning the new people's democratic and later socialist political system appeared gradually even prior to February 1948. For all practical purposes, they were here since the founding of the CPCZ in 1921, but mainly since 1929 when Klement Gottwald took charge of the CPCZ and when the party strengthened its Marxist-Leninist and internationalist foundations.

The decisive factor in this gradual and complex crystallization was in the first place the CPCZ itself which, since its inception, led a sharp class, political and ideological struggle against the ruling bourgeoisie during the First Republic, against its antipeople and pluralistic system based on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of big owners of the means of production. In this merciless class struggle for the rights of the working class and other working people, in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, here naturally emerged concrete ideas concerning the character and mission of the new proletarian state and a new proletarian political system which would come as a result of a victorious socialist revolution. Already at that time it was obvious that the bourgeois state must be defeated and destroyed and that in its place we must build a socialist state, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a decisive instrument of future socialist transformations as demonstrated by the example of Soviet Russia. During that period there appeared various proletarian, trade union, youth, sports and women's social organizations on whose support the CPCZ could count in its class struggle with the bourgeoisie. During the 1930's, when international and domestic fascism seriously started to undermine the Czechoslovak bourgeois system, the CPCZ, under Gottwald's leadership and in the spirit of the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist International, began to launch a special effort with the aim of creating a broad popular front of struggle against exploitation, poverty, unemployment, and against the advent of domestic and international fascism. The struggle of the CPCZ aiming to create an action-based unity of the working class, a broad popular front against fascism and in defense of the republic which called for the establishment of a popular front government, culminated after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Seventh Congress of the CPCZ in 1936. In spite of the fact that bourgeois Czechoslovakia failed to create a united popular front because of the resistance of the reformist and bourgeois political parties, the idea of a united popular front of all democratic and antifascist forces did not fade away. Later, it was realized in the form of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks during the period of the national liberation struggle against fascism in World War II.

The bourgeois pluralistic political system of the First Czechoslovak Republic was unable to solve the serious political, social, economic and nationality problems. And because of its class limitation and determination it decisively contributed to the liquidation of Czechoslovakia by fascist Germany during the 1936-1939 period. For this reason, the CPCZ during the later stages of the struggle against fascism and for the restoration of a new people's Czechoslovakia decisively rejected all attempts of the bourgeoisie to restore after the victorious was the Czechoslovak political system in the

form that had existed prior to the liquidation of the country by fascist Germany. For this reason, during World War II and the national liberation struggle against fascism, the CPCZ gradually worked out a concept for a people's democratic political system, based on the political platform of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks as an integrating framework of all democratic, antifascist and patriotic forces from the ranks of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, artisans, shopkeepers and the national bourgeoisie for building a people's democratic state as a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants which would be based on national committees and the new people's organs of state power. The new state would also be based on the new principle regarding the nationality question of equality between Czechs and Slovaks, as well as on political parties which took part in the struggle against fascism, on the adoption of those democratic institutions which could be used in building a new people's democratic Czechoslovakia. This new political system which the CPCZ had shaped already during the national liberation struggle against the plans of the bourgeoisie headed by E. Benes, who wanted to restore the old, pre-Munich pluralistic political system in accordance with the theory of so-called legal continuity, was for the first time tested in revolutionary practice during the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and the uprising of the Czech people in May 1945, as well as in the entire period of the national and democratic revolution and its transformation into a socialist revolution. The historical document which spelled out the foundations of this new people's democratic system was the Kosice Government Program of the first government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks of 1945. The revolutionary substance of the people's democratic political system during that period was expressed in the leading role of the CPCZ, in the existence and activity of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks as the broadest base for associating and integrating the political and social forces in an effort to restore and rebuild a war-ridden country, in the establishment and activity of the people's democratic state as a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, in the existence of the people's revolutionary organs (the national committees), in the existence and activity of the Slovak national organs (the Slovak National Council, the Board of Commissioners and the commissioners' offices) representing the sovereign Slovak nation. Also, the mass organizations--the trade unions, youth organizations, the Union of Antifascist Fighters, the Peasant Union, etc.--which greatly broadened the state's popular base became a significant part of the people's democratic political system. All fascist political parties and organizations were prohibited. Also on the books was a rule prohibiting the activity of officials of banned political parties and organizations who were guilty of working against the interests of our nations and the republic.

A new Czechoslovak Army, the nucleus of which was the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, the Slovak and Czech partisans, and the insurgent forces in Slovakia, became the armed forces of the people's democratic state and the entire political system. A National Security Corps was built on new and revolutionary foundations.

The victory of the socialist revolution in February 1948 has made it possible to build first a people's democratic and later a socialist political system as a qualitative class antithesis to the old bourgeois pluralistic system. Attention was concentrated on the creative use of all general objective laws of development of a socialist society and its political system under our Czechoslovak conditions while fully respecting our national differences and political and constitutional traditions and customs. The CPCZ has always respected the concrete Czechoslovak historical conditions, including the possibilities of using democratic institutions to fulfill revolutionary tasks and goals. For this reason it is necessary resolutely to reject the untrue allegations and fabrications of bourgeois and revisionist ideologues and theoreticians according to which February 1948 disrupted the so-called specific Czechoslovak parliamentary path to socialism. In the same way one has to reject the allegation that Czechoslovakia, under the pressure of external political forces, had to take a path of Soviet development and thus failed to respect the deep "democratic" traditions of an advanced country. The development of the political system prior to and after February 1948 conclusively refutes these attacks of the revisionist, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet forces. It illustrates that the Czechoslovak political system is, in addition to the common and determining laws of development, characterized by a number of specific national features, traditions and forms which are characteristic of Czechoslovakia. This fact is persuasively documented by the stage of development during the transition period from capitalism to the foundations of socialism from 1948 through 1960 and by the stage of its present development during the period of building a developed socialist society.

During the first stage, the foundations of our people's democratic political system were spelled out in basic principles but not fully in the first socialist constitution--the Constitution of 9 May 1945, which immediately underlay the February 1948 victory and included the results of the national and democratic revolution and the early achievements of the victorious socialist revolution in the sociopolitical and economic areas.

The constitutional entrenchment of the foundations of the people's democratic political system during that period was the acceptance of the Czechoslovak state as a people's democratic republic, the individual types of its state organs, especially of representative organs (the National Assembly, the Slovak National Council and the national committees), the Slovak national organs as the representatives of a separate Slovak nationality as well as the acceptance of a uniform trade union organization. The 9 May Constitution concentrated its attention mainly on the entrenchment of the existing political system. However, it did not yet make the CPCZ the ruling force in the country, it did not entrench the position of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks or the position of other important social organizations. This, however, did not mean that the role of these political-social parts of the people's democratic system were underestimated or that they did not fulfill their function in the political system. And it did not mean at all that they were eliminated from the picture. These political and social parts of the people's democratic

political system fully developed their activity. In particular, the CPCZ fully practiced its leading role in the state and society with respect to all parts of the political system. The constitutional emphasis on the state organs of the political system was to a great extent determined by the preceding constitutional development, the need for a constitutional change, and was moreover related to the fact that the CPCZ after the February victory tried to strengthen the position and function of the people's democratic state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the main realizer and guardian of the efforts to build a socialist society. The 9 May Constitution must be understood as a basic law of a new people's democratic state.

A characteristic and specific feature of building a people's democratic political system was in the first place the acceptance of the system of the highest organs of state power (the National Assembly, the government, the president) from the 1920 Constitution. However, these organs started to fulfill new people's democratic tasks and the role of a political power. Another feature was the acceptance of the basic rights and freedoms of the 1920 Constitution; however, these rights were broadened by adding to them various social rights and guaranteeing politically, economically and legally the existence of the Slovak national organs and of the national committees as the new revolutionary organs, etc.

The completion of the foundations of socialism and the adoption of the 1960 Constitution as well as the present stage of building a developed socialist society linked to the federalization of state and social life on the basis of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation of 1968 have created prerequisites for the further multifaceted development of the political system, especially during the period after overcoming the crises of 1968-1969 and warding off all attacks against the Czechoslovak political system by various right-wing, revisionist and anticommunist forces here and abroad.

As a consequence of the federalization of state and social life, the Czechoslovak political system, which until 1968 had been a unitary system, was divided into three harmonically related systems: the Czechoslovak political system as a system of a socialist federative state within whose framework there were created two political systems involving the units of the federation--the Czech political system and the Slovak political system, both based on equal political and economic bases and with only certain unimportant differences and specificities.

In comparison with the constitutional order of the foundations of the political system resulting from the 9 May Constitution, the existing constitutional order of the Czechoslovak political system (namely, the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic) resulting from the CSSR Constitution and the entire complex of constitutional laws concerning the Czechoslovak federation is much broader and more extensive, and one can expect that it will lead in the future to a complex constitutional change analogous to the new Soviet Constitution of 1977. The existing constitutional order of the Czechoslovak political system and

its individual parts and subjects are characterized by dealing not only with the state sphere but also the social sphere of the political system. This is predetermined by the higher level of Czechoslovak socialist social development (building a developed socialist society) and by the concept of the Constitution itself as a basic law of the socialist state and the entire socialist society. The existing constitutional order of the foundations of the Czechoslovak political system is characterized especially by the following features:

The CSSR Constitution makes clear the leading position of the CPCZ in the socialist state and society and in the entire political system as a basic and determining objective law of development of the political system because the CPCZ is the determining, firmly organized, united and action-oriented political vanguard of the working class and other working people which leads the society toward specific socialist and communist goals, consistently guided by Marxism-Leninism. This makes it possible for the party to face uncontrolled elements and guide the development of society in accordance with tested laws as well as with the class interests and needs of the working class and other working people. The CPCZ is a political power broker, the nucleus of the Czechoslovak political system as far as knowledge, programs, political organization, ideology and education, coordination and control are concerned.

The CSSR Constitution and a series of other constitutional laws confirm, on a federal basis, the existence of a socialist state and the entire state machinery, represented by a system of federal, republic and local organs which act as the main instrument for implementing CPCZ policy in building a developed socialist society. The socialist state, as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, gradually and over a number of years is being transformed into a socialist all-people's state. Its political foundation is in its representative bodies, the organs of state power, namely, the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, the Slovak National Council, and the national committees which directly and immediately express the sovereignty of the working people. The status of all other state organs--the organs of state administration, the courts, the procuracy, and the people's control--derive their status from these organs of state and order.

The Czechoslovak Constitution makes the National Front, which associates various political and social organizations, a significant part of our political system. The National Front also has become a basic constitutional institution within the framework of our political system. This, in turn, has greatly strengthened and made more conscious its authority and mission in building a developed socialist society.

The CSSR Constitution--when compared with the previous constitutional system--also confirms more expressively and more broadly the status and mission of various social organizations, especially the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, cooperative organizations, youth organizations, cultural, physical culture and other organizations as part of the political system. These organizations voluntarily involve the working people on the basis of individual interests and the constitutional guarantee of the right to associate.

The existing constitutional system also emphasizes the status and function of the Czechoslovak political system as a determining instrument of the working class and all working people in building a developed socialist society even if this is not yet spelled out in a separate section or article of the Constitution. The Constitution expresses, however, through the above-mentioned subjects, the socialist quality of this instrument, its irreplaceable mission within the framework of the entire socialist social system as well as a qualitative class and political difference in comparison with the bourgeois pluralistic political system, which is determined by the laws of development of a bourgeois society, in the first place by the close class and political interests of the ruling bourgeoisie and the private ownership of the means of production.

At the same time, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that in addition to laws of development of the Czechoslovak political system which are common and natural to all socialist political systems at each stage of development, there is a series of differences and specificities related to concrete Czechoslovak conditions. Among them is, for example, the existence of four non-communist parties, the existence of the National Front, a federal political system, the existence of an individual head of state, namely the Czechoslovak president, etc. These peculiarities of the Czechoslovak political system confirm that this system has developed and is still developing in dialectical unity of the general and the particular and has been affected by the operation of general objective laws. At the same time, these peculiarities refute the constant attacks and slanders of bourgeois propaganda that picture our political system as a mere copy of the Soviet political system and suggest that it ignores Czechoslovak conditions and thus is inadequate for our "democratic and parliamentary" traditions and conditions. Our political system was neither before nor after February 1948 a copy of this sort because it has always respected the dialectics between the general and the particular, the interests of the working class and all other working people. It is characterized by a deep commitment to socialist democratism, the informal and ever-growing participation of the working people in the work of its individual subjects which, after all, one cannot say about the bourgeois political system, which is permanently characterized by the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and its transformation into a system of open fascist dictatorship.

The CPCZ and all its congresses, especially the 14th, 15th and 16th, have paid and are still paying systematic attention to the building of our political system in its complex and dynamic understanding. The 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized that the "political system in which a Leninist party has a leading role is among the greatest revolutionary achievements of the working class. Only through such a system can the working class achieve its basic interests, realize its historical mission and unify all the working people for the struggle for the victory of socialism."

The 16th CPCZ Congress, just as the 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses of other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries, adopted as party policy for the further successful development of a socialist and

communist society the transition from an extensive development to an intensive development of socialist society, a demand to achieve a basic change in the quality and effectiveness of all labor. It is obvious that this strategic policy also fully affects the further construction of the socialist political system of each and every socialist country. This stems from the fact that the political system of socialism reflects on the one hand the present revolutionary processes of socialist and communist construction and on the other hand manages and guides these processes in accordance with the objective laws of development of socialism and communism. Hence, from the viewpoint of making our socialist political system more perfect, of better quality and more effective, it is necessary--both in theory and practice--to concentrate our attention mainly on the following tasks:

--decisively to respect and implement in a planned way all objective laws of building a socialist society and its political system under existing conditions of building a developed socialist society;

--systematically, scientifically and in a planned way to improve the entire institutional framework of the socialist political system and its individual parts, especially its leading structures, in accordance with the needs and tasks related to the building of a developed socialist society;

--to strengthen systematically and respect consistently the Leninist norms of the organization and functioning of the political system and its subjects, especially of criticism and self-criticism, of observing socialist legality, collective decisionmaking and personal responsibility and respect for public opinion;

--to improve systematically and in a planned way the level of socialist social consciousness, especially of legal consciousness, of all the working people, primarily of all leading functionaries and workers of the political system who, in the final analysis, have the ultimate responsibility for fulfilling the assigned tasks and maintaining socialist legality, labor and planning discipline, and who must serve as an example to others in fulfilling their duties.

Experience shows that the decisive factor in the basic improvement, and effectiveness of the functioning of the entire socialist political system at the present time is primarily the subjective factor, the level of its political, technical and moral influence in various organs of the political system, especially the political, technical, ideological and moral level of all leading functionaries and workers who to a great extent participate in the realization of the objective laws of development and operation of the socialist political system. Even here the idea tested in revolutionary practice, namely that the cadres decide everything, is valid.

The path from February 1948 to the present of building a developed socialist society shows what tremendous development and progress has been achieved by our socialist political system, what significant results in building a socialist society are related to it, which problems and difficulties had to be overcome in order that this system might fulfill its mission, and which challenging tasks this system must face in the future.

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POPULARITY OF HISTORICAL ROCK OPERA MUSIC UNPRECEDENTED SINCE 1945

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Mar 84 p 9

/Interview with Miklos Boldizsar by Gabriella Locsie: "King Stephen, the Star--Miklos Boldizsar on the History of Rock Opera"; place and date not given

/Text My generation, the multitude of those born after 1945, has never experienced a general success, involving various ages and strata, as that of the record of the rock opera "Stephen, the King." This work excited long-haired, "hippie" youth, serious financiers, lovers of science, old and young, to look into history. Not only the age groups which like or tolerate rock music but practically the entire nation is listening to this music, practically the entire nation is influenced by this music to be interested in history. All the questions of our historical identity emerged again in their entirety, including the forces experienced in the 19th century. The work has inspired extensive debates and discussions already. It is expected that with this rock opera's film version--which will come out soon--even newer questions will surface. Most discussions deal with the music, with problems of performance and with the lyrics of the songs. On the other hand, there have been relatively few references made to the structure of the opera, to the story (which is commonly called script in the jargon) which holds together the whole: the rock, the opera, the song and play, the theater and the film. It is rarely mentioned, although it is partly the reason for the success, that someone thought of writing a story for the nation about Stephen the king.

The drama that is the basis for the rock opera was written by Miklos Boldizsar. He is 39 years old, dramaturgist at the TV, author of several premiered and unpremiered plays. He is an old friend of Levente Szorenyi and Janos Brody, the two well-known authors of the rock opera, "Stephen the King." "Where did you get the idea," was our first question, "to tell a story about King Stephen in your own way, in the name of the long-haired generation, to young and not so young generations of long and short hair?"

/Answer I wrote a play in 1973-74 with the title, "The Millenium," about King Stephen, basically the same way as it is in the rock opera. We had the mutual idea with Levente Szorenyi and Janos Brody that we should make a musical historical play out of this. It was that year when the legendary Illes group was dissolved; this transition period gave an opportunity to its members for orientation in a new direction. We all believed that in view of the fact that

instruction of history in schools was rather subdued at that time, we must speak in our own way of an historical figure whose distance from the long-haired generation is only superficial. (At that time the representatives of rock were not recognized as much as today.) We even signed a contract with a theater, received an advance, 1,250 forints each, and then nothing happened.

/Question/ "The Millenium" was published nevertheless. Although it was not produced, it appeared in print.

/Answer/ Yes but much later. I signed a contract with the Magveto publishing house in 1975. At that time two plays of mine had been premiered (both were unsuccessful) and a couple of other things of mine had been completed which I included in the volume together with "The Millenium." The volume was published in June 1982.

/Question/ And Stephen of "The Millenium" was dormant until then?

/Answer/ Not entirely. It appeared in 1981 in the periodical THEATER. It was that year when Gabor Koltay's film, the "Concert," was completed, which aroused the attention of Istvan Nemeskurty to the sweeping effects of Brody and Szorenyi. He then began to urge them to write an historical opera on the basis of "The Millenium" that became known at that time from the periodical.

/Question/ It is both strange and moving that Istvan Nemeskurty's helping hand as teacher, film maker and historian is behind almost everything that is considered today as historical knowledge. Did he himself influence the concept of the work?

/Answer/ Disregarding the fact that he "threw back" the first couple of scripts, no. But this was not unjustified since those versions were full of arbitrary modernizations.

/Question/ The final version still has enough cans of worms!

/Answer/ "Stephen the King" touches various sensitive points of variously sensitive people. To mention only the most apparent ones: points of religious and generational and even national sensitivity. We did not want to avoid these for its is impossible without them to talk about the adventurous grandeur of the foundation of statehood. However, we were very careful about one thing, namely, to avoid any political references to the present. The language of the opera is modern, using today's idioms but we did not want to "glance" at the present through allusions.

/Question/ For the luck of the public, for this play is both historical and contemporary, and this is the reason why it finds an easy way to the heart and consciousness of viewers of various attitudes.

/Answer/ Perhaps the reason for this is that we wanted to pay attention, first of all, to people, to ancient characters, i.e., to people of various views but of the same calibre. We wanted to present two truths side by side, the details of which still not being clarified in history texts which still say that Stephen

put down rebellious Hungarians with foreign aid. But very few people are aware what really is behind this simple statement.

/Question/ Aside from the excited majority, there are those who doubt the opera's historical authenticity and characterization.

/Answer/ We were not interested in the historical debates. We wanted to depict forms of behavior without considering anyone or anything holy but at the same time considering everyone and everything holy. By the way, opera as a medium does not permit detailed characterization. Here music is the main form of characterization. The audience either understands this or does not. This ceases to be a dramaturgical question; it is rather a question of accepting the music.

/Question/ This time probably even tone-deaf persons understand what the music of Szorenyi et al wants to express.

/Answer/ Yes, for this music is at the same time both eclectic and elementary. It is a kind of mass communication medium, catching one's attention; this was not recognized enough until the success of the opera's recording. This music called public attention to the series of historical publications in periodicals and books which would have been ignored by most people or which would have reached only the limited stratum of intellectuals.

/Question/ It seems to me that you are very unhappy with the present methods of historical information and instruction.

/Answer/ Indeed, we are too modest about our own history. We are even unable to discuss simple and unambiguous things thoroughly and in detail. For 6 or 7 years history was not part of the subjects required for high school graduation. Today's 25-year-olds "officially" do not know much about history. But they--and everyone else--would benefit from knowing that every important event in Hungarian history had its own Stephen and Koppany, i.e., people of different views but of the same, high, calibre. Alongside the victor there was always the defeated, also a very significant figure. And the fate of the significant losers also has its own moral.

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CSO: 2500/249

## HUNGARY

### PARTY DAILY CITES PROVOCATIVE SPEECH ON FREE PRESS, NATIONALITIES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Mar 84 p 5

[Pal Vasvari's speech on "Freedom of Press and Cooperation Among Nationalities," delivered on 15 March 1848 in front of the Heckenast printing shop]

[Text] Until now when we wanted to pray we were not free to implore God directly. Between Him and us stood the Jesuit who claimed to be the intermediary between earth and heaven. As if prayer would need mail relay stations. As if heaven would not be open to everybody. We, who profess the ideas of freedom, those sacred principles, are like those praying people. But between us and the press stands the censor, the Jesuit, who kills the rising spirit. Our thoughts could come to light only through his clemency; he killed or paralyzed our ideas at will. The censor is the toll-keeper of spirit in our country. He permitted to pass his customs-line only the ideas which appeared in a Chinese garb, and rejected the Hungarian and French ideas. This is why not even the principles of freedom attracted attention, for who will believe in an idea which appears in Chinese garb and with a fool's cap. We have been compelled to shroud the most obvious truths in long phrases in order to make them unintelligible for the censor and thus to get them pass. As a consequence not even one hundredth of the readers grasped the covert truth. Who will identify an idea when it is wrapped up like a mummy and painted with motley colors? We had to change this situation, my fellow citizens we have to do this in this hour. There is no censor any more. No Jesuit stands any longer between us and the press. Now inside the printing shop the press works freely for the first time. In a few minutes the first product of the free press will come to light. The printing machine has come across for the first time with an unfettered manuscript that no censor's hand violated. In a few moments we will bring out the first-born child of the free press. Raindrops are coming down. We are going to bathe that first-born child in the baptismal water of nature. Do not think that nature is indifferent toward great scenarios. These drops of rain are the tears of nature; tears like mothers' are dropping on their children when they see them happy. It was also raining unceasingly on those days in February when the people of Paris had built barricades to expel tyranny from the capital of intellect. Let us have also our sky overcast and let us have a clear-up on our horizon only when our national rights will be attained. The first rays of the clearing sun should find new areas

of freedom. And we have to undertake everything courageously. The harder the struggle, the shinier is the victory.

The European movements have started in Italy. Italians have lived among the glorious ruins of Rome and in the presence of those grandiose monuments of the past they got shocked at the sight of their own dwarfishness..and they sang trying to submerge their soul in the silent sea of memory. Those who are animated by such reminiscences cannot remain idle for ever. Anyone who indulges in daydreams about the grandeur of the past, forges his sentiments into conviction and will move into action. History records about Gracchus that he had wrestled with agonizing dreams; he fought battles for the freedom of the peoples, and a historian rightly notes that anyone who struggles with such dreams will not remain idle any longer. The Italian nation is like Gracchus. The grandiose monuments motioned it with silent speech and stimulated it to action. The spirits were ready, they needed only someone to lead, somebody who is bold enough to start action. And this was Pope Pius IX (Long live). He began to awaken the pride of the people; he dared to lift the torch of enlightenment. And the fire of this torch ignited Sicily in the southernmost corner of Europe, and the fire spread over half of Europe. Peoples flared up one after the other, just as neighboring houses do in a blaze.

The roofs of the houses have been burned down by all nations, since they served as the dark cloaks of absolutism. Everything that tyranny had built to oppress peoples' freedom, had to be reduced to ashes.

Nations have been praying for this general reform over half a century. The peoples of the Austrian provinces also fervently desire this change. Yet these peoples have not grasped the meaning of the word "fraternity." Therefore they failed to succeed, therefore they bled to death on the days of the battle. Each nation tried to achieve independently its liberty.

And Austria nursed since the beginning the principle: divide et vinces, tear the nations apart from each other. This dire secret explains why it did nurture so much antagonism among the various nations. It aroused hatred among nations, it used one nation for murdering the other. When the Poles rose against tyranny, Austria set the Hungarians, Czechs and Italians to kill them. When the Italians moved, it used Hungarian and Polish soldiers as murderous tools (1828). Therefore the strength of the Austrian tyranny will last only as long as the peoples are not aware of this secret and can be used as blind tools by tyranny to kill each other.

And when various nations rose simultaneously, the Austrian government withdrew behind the walls of Vienna. That city stood as an ancient rock amidst the sea of the empire. That city never budged; it was trained for blind obedience by the Habsburgs over half a millenium.

When the waves of rising peoples besieged that rock from various sides, the stooges of tyranny hid themselves into the hospitable caverns of that immobile rock, waiting with complete composure until the waves of the assailing peoples got exhausted. They waited until the storm calmed down and

then crept out from the caverns, continuing with diabolic determination the weaving of their genocide network. I have never read in history that in Vienna force would have dared to challenge tyranny. Yet the situation changed recently. The sinister apostles of tyrannic power have been taken in by the city of Vienna. It was a rocky mountain that city amidst the stormy waves of other peoples, but it turned out to be a volcano. Deep down in the dark bowels of the mountain the lightning fire of peoples' freedom was begotten. And when Metternich did not even dream of it, the volcano erupted. It shuddered from the feeling of its grandiose force, and the fire hidden in its depth burst into destructive flames. My fellow citizens! The silent, the mute people of Vienna rose and shook Metternich's invisible crown. That people suffered silently for centuries and buried the sorrows of its life in its bosom. But the drops of pain grew into a sea in its bosom and they now surge like sweeping flood. The people of Vienna had thus far two characteristics: they drank beer and were indifferent. But now they atoned for their fault and therefore let them long live.

We should not ridicule the cheese-making of the Italians, nor should we mock about the Czechs. We are all brotherly nations. We are weak alone but united we are strong, powerful, indomitable.

If Hungarians, Italians, Czechs, Poles and Austrians were all united and moved in concert, I would like to know whom Metternich could mobilize against them? If these peoples embraced each other like brothers, I wonder where the power is that can crush them and humiliate them?

The Austrian government was strong as long as it was able to incite the disunited nations against each other. But if these nations hold out each other their hands and merge into one body, then the imperial cabinet would appear on their heads just like a fool's cap. In other words as merely a symbol, the sign of past foolishness. And a man who recovered his mental sanity, will be ashamed to wear the fool's cap and will throw it down without further ado. This is the consequence that will flow from the union of the nations of the Austrian empire. Therefore long live fraternity among the nations. Let us hold out our right hand sincerely to the neighboring nations, and let us strive together toward the sacred goal; for we share the goal of our struggle and we share the enemy against whom we have to wage a destructive war. Down with Metternich!

12312

CSO: 2500/280

RESULTS OF WROCLAW VOIVODSHIP REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Proceedings, New Officers

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 21-22 Jan 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Jozef Bartoszewski and Henryk Smolak: "To Us in Poland at Present Higher Output and Greater Social Justice Are Particularly Needed: Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Reports-Elections Conference; The Delegates Elected Comrade Zdzislaw Balicki First Secretary of the Province Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Yesterday the 23rd Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference of the Polish United Workers Party deliberated in Wroclaw. It culminated the nearly 4 months long reports-elections campaign in Wroclaw Voivodship. The campaign demonstrated that the party emerged victoriously from the unusually severe ordeal of recent years, strengthened and consolidated itself and is gradually regaining the society's trust and rallying round itself a growing number of people concerned for our national future and desiring to make their personal contribution to overcoming the current difficulties./

A total of 293 delegates elected at city, gmina [parish], city-gmina and city-quarter conferences represented the more than 57,000 members and candidate members of the Wroclaw Voivodship party organization. The participants assessed the implementation of the resolution of the 21st Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference, defined more precisely the tasks for the new term of office of the voivodship party echelon and elected the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the control organs and the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee.

[Inset] Executive Board and Secretariat of the Voivodship Committee

The following were re-elected secretaries of the Voivodship Committee: Bogdan Kleszczewski, Tadeusz Kramarz, Marian Mazur, Antoni Staszewski, Boguslaw Wieczorek. In addition, Boguslaw Kedzia, professor at the Wroclaw Polytechnic, was elected Voivodship Committee Secretary.

All the secretaries became members of the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board. The following other members of the Board were elected: Zdzislaw Biernaczyk, chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs (WUSW); Jan Chaladaj, chairman of the Voivodship Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP); Jan Dalgiewicz, director of JZS [expansion unknown]; Wladyslaw

Dziankowski, director of Rakoszyce State Farm; Stanislaw Gers, railroad technician at the Wroclaw-Brochów Locomotive Roundhouse; Alfred Kostrzewa, director of the Combined School of Mechanical and Electrical Trades in Wroclaw; Tadeusz Kwasniewski, technician-mechanic, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the HYDRAL PZL [expansion unknown]; Wlodzimierz Lizakowski, worker at the ODRA Lower Silesian Leather Industry Works (DZPS) in Olenisca; Franciszek Maslowski, farmer from Zielenice; Ryszard Mastalski, docent at Wroclaw University; Zbigniew Mistrzak, first secretary of the basic party organization (POP) at the BUMAR-FADROMA Machinery Factory; and Col Zdzislaw Rozbicki, deputy commander of the Silesian Military District.

In addition, Zdzislaw Balicki, First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee, earlier became member of the Secretariat and Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee. [End of inset]

#### The Conference Opens

The deliberations were inaugurated by the incumbent First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee, comrade Zdzislaw Balicki, who cordially greeted the delegates, guests and invited party, public and economic activists.

The participants in the deliberations included: comrade Tadeusz Porebski, delegate of the PZPR organization at the Wroclaw Polytechnic, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; comrade Ryszard Milczarek, member of the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission (CKKP); comrade Tadeusz Ferc, member of the Presidium of the Central Audit Commission (CRK); and comrade Stanislaw Nieckarz, minister of finance.

Also participating were: Bernard Roskiewicz, chairman of the Voivodship ZSL [United Peasant Party] Committee, and Franciszek Bielicki, chairman of the Voivodship SD [Democratic Party] Committee. The command of the Silesian Military District (Sl. OW) was represented by deputy commander Col Zdzislaw Rozbicki.

The voivodship organization is represented within the central party authorities by the following comrades: Central Committee members-- Jozef Brozek, Marian Kasprzycki, Marian Orzechowski, Marek Pabian, and Kazimierz Stec; candidate members of the Central Committee--Barbara Rogala, Tadeusz Szczepaniak, Jozef Woloch; CRK members--Tomasz Afeltowicz, Adam Balabuch, Jan Dubielak; CKKP members--Marian Baluka, Alfred Kostrzewa. These comrades had been invited to participate in the conference.

#### Recognition for the Veterans

The conference started on a pleasant note. On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the merger of the Polish worker movement, a group of longtime party members active since as far back as before 1948 received medals struck in connection with the centenary of the worker movement in Poland.

The individuals so honored were handed the medals by comrade Tadeusz Porebski and comrade Zdzislaw Balicki. They were the comrades: Jan Hebda, Stefan Korczyk, Jan Krobicki, Edmund Kwaszewski, Aleksander Marszalek, Czeslaw Matulewicz, Jozef Rychter, Henryk Smolak, Antoni Wroblewski.

The congratulatory letter signed by the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee stated: May this medal "be to you a proof that the party remembers and an expression of profound esteem and sincere acknowledgment."

The delegates to the conference also included other comrades with longtime party seniority dating back to the period even before the merger of the worker movement, namely: Zdzislaw Biernaczyk, Roman Czeszejko, Jan Gacek, Dominik Gdowski, Jozef Gniewecki, Adolf Gorski, Henryk Janasek, Stanislaw Krawczyk, Jozef Orlowski.

#### The Deliberations Commence

Next, the working presidium of the conference was appointed along with its chairmen, the comrades Boguslaw Kedzia, academic lecturer at the Wroclaw Polytechnic, Tadeusz Kwasniewski, first secretary of the plant party committee at the HYDRAL PZL, and Wladyslaw Zwierzchowski, inspector of education and upbringing at Trzebnica.

The conference elected members of three commissions: Mandate, Resolutions and Recommendations, and Elections.

Irena Malkiewicz, chairperson of the Mandate Commission and inspector of education and upbringing at Oborniki Slaskie, presented the rollcall of delegates. Of the 300 elected delegates 293 were present. Hence the conference is legitimate.

The participants had earlier received numerous materials in writing totaling some 15 reports comprising several hundred printed pages. On that basis they were able to evaluate comprehensively the activities of the voivodship party organization during the now-ended term of office and prepare themselves for discussion on the tasks awaiting the party in the coming period.

The first speakers were Bernard Roskiewicz, chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, and Franciszek Bielicki, chairman of the SD Voivodship Committee, who conveyed to the conference participants greetings from the echelons and members of both these political parties.

The consulates general of the USSR in Poznan and the GDR in Wroclaw dispatched greetings to the conference, wishing it fruitful deliberations.

#### Report

Comrade Zdzislaw Balicki stressed in his report: "...To Poland there is no alternative to surmounting the crisis on the basis of the healthy principles of socialism and through common effort."

Where do we stand as regards implementing the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress? This basic question was asked at the beginning of the report. "A systematic and gradual relaxation is occurring in public life. A growing number of people have arrived and are arriving at the conviction that, despite zigzags and obstacles, the party and the authorities are advancing in the right directions."

This does not mean that by now everyone supports the party's program. The discussion that took place during the reports-elections meetings established what should we do nowadays in order to change this situation. "At present we need higher output and greater social justice."

For the first time in 5 years, national income has increased last year. But there still exist obstacles to growth as well as material shortages, gaps in employment, conflicts in social awareness of the application of the economic reform, and undesirable shortcomings in social discipline and organization of labor. Despite the aging of the machinery pool, sufficient importance still is not attached to labor-saving suggestions and inventions. Yet the technical intelligentsia in Wroclaw Voivodship is numerically the largest part of this social stratum.

The voivodship's agriculture last year advanced to the first place in the country as regards size of the harvest and procurements of grain. On state farms the economic reform is producing its first positive results. But the countryside still is experiencing shortages of materials and spare parts. There exist tremendous problems in water management and the supply of water and natural gas to farms. This requires of the party and the ZSL that they again tackle this problem.

We are building more schools than in the past decade. Yet the demographic peak impedes the transition to universal single-shift instruction.

Health-service construction also is greater than ever before. The hospital on Kamienski Street in Wroclaw is being put into operation and the operating conditions of emergency wards as well as of clinics have tangibly improved. Despite the country's difficult situation, wage systems for health-service personnel urgently need to be revised.

The alteration of the public transit system in Wroclaw City is a gigantic and long-range project. The greatest accomplishment at present in this respect is the fact that, despite the crisis, modernization and construction operations have not been discontinued.

The party regards it as its cardinal duty to monitor unremittingly the proper implementation of anything that is of service to working people, together with and through these people. "The democracy which we want to create should be an instrument of criticism, control, programming and revision of policies, but it cannot be utilized against socialism. Our aim is as follows: an efficient and strong administration reinforced with a broad network of active, influential and efficient representative and self-government bodies."

The chance for such a solution is afforded by the decree on people's councils and territorial self-government, by the regular cooperation with the other political parties, and by direct contact with all social classes and strata. This goal is also promoted by the system of providing information from the bottom to the top and from the top to the bottom that has been improved during the now-ended term of office of the voivodship party echelon, as well as by the team for social research under the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the increasingly better ideological and political education provided by the Voivodship Party School and the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, the reasons for the small number and rather unsatisfactory

quality of party training meetings have yet to be explored. There already exists a coherent system of cadre policy. That in itself already is an important element in implementing the line of struggle, accord and reforms. This line is supported by a growing number of people desiring to actively participate in translating it into reality.

In the last part of his report, in which he devoted much attention to youth problems, comrade Zdzislaw Balicki declared: "The time has come to strengthen the party's working core."

#### Discussion

Twenty-seven comrades took the floor in the discussion.

The reform, seen from various points of view, the shortcomings in its implementation and inconsistent decisions in that field were discussed by: comrade Zbigniew Mistrzak, technician-mechanic at the FADROMA Plant; comrade Wladyslaw Dziankowski, director of Rakoszyce State Farm; comrade Jan Dalgiewicz, director of JZS; and comrade Lucjan Szoltys, academic teacher at the Economics Academy.

Agriculture under the slogan "We can feed ourselves," conditions for the development of agricultural production and various problems besetting agriculture were discussed by: comrade Franciszek Zietek, farmer of Gatkowice, and comrade Franciszek Maslowski, farmer of Zielenice.

Comrade Julia Baraniak, director of Elementary School No 3 in Strzelin, and comrade Irena Malkiewicz, inspector of education and upbringing in Oborniki Slaskie, devoted their comments to the role of the socialist school, its ideological-upbringing function. Their comments were echoed by comrade Jan Chaladaj, Voivodship ZSMP Committee chairman, who discussed the party's task in ideological-upbringing work with youth. Comrade Marek Jozefiak, chairman of the ZSP District Council, touched upon the problems of university youth, upbringing tasks and the related tasks of teaching personnel.

Several comrades stressed the importance of science and the intelligentsia to the country's future, to economic development and the narrowing of the technology gap between this country and the highly developed countries. This topic was discussed by: comrade Eugeniusz Myszk, teacher at the Wroclaw Polytechnic; comrade Jan Przondo, chief development engineer at the ROKITA NZPO [expansion unknown] in Brzeg Dolny; and comrade Henryk Ratajczak, rector of Wroclaw University.

Brig Gen Kazimierz Stec, speaking in the context of the activities of the military operational groups and their observations, pointed to shortcomings in the performance of the administration and agricultural service institutions and to the oft-encountered instances of waste, soulless attitude, disregard of human problems.

Comrade Jan Adrjan, director of the ZACHOD Association of Industrial Construction Enterprises, devoted his speech to the conditions under which the Voivodship Committee resolution on housing construction is being implemented. This topic also was discussed by comrade Stanislaw Kurnicki, brigade leader-fitter at the POLAR ZZSD [expansion unknown]. Comrade Leonard Muchorowski,

director of the ROKITA NZPO, pointed to environmental threats and the need to take more energetic measures in that field.

Several comrades discussed the party's activities in large work establishments as well as the issues of concern to workers. Those taking the floor on this topic were: comrade Julian Tutak, brigade leader and electrician at the Wroclaw Główny PKP (Polish State Railroads) Locomotive Roundhouse; comrade Franciszek Wozniak, first secretary of the plant party committee at the PAFAWAG State Railroad Rolling Stock Plant; comrade Włodzimierz Lizakowski, shoe fitter at the ODRA DZPS in Olesnica; comrade Alojzy Perchun, driver-operator at the Municipal Transportation Enterprise; and comrade Jan Szalas, fitter-welder at the Repair and Installation Works of the Light Industry.

Comrade Marian Rzemkowski, driver at the Olawa SKR [expansion unknown], dealt in his comment with the cadre policy and its shortcomings at enterprises.

The party, the strengthening of its ranks, the rebuilding of its authority and the need to intensify its ideological, political and training activities, were discussed by many comrades, including: comrade Jerzy Surowiec, academic teacher at Wroclaw University, comrade Henryk Janasek of Psie Pole and comrade Adolf Gorski of Olawa.

Brig Gen comrade Zdzisław Biernaczyk, chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, discussed the activities of the survivors of the anti-socialist underground, the political opposition and the activities of the organs of law and order enforcement.

#### Speech of Comrade T. Porebski

At the outset, comrade Tadeusz Porebski declared that the Politburo rated highly the performance of the Wroclaw Voivodship Party Control Commission and the Voivodship Audit Commission. At the same time he excused himself from providing an evaluation of the Voivodship Committee, since that would sound like a self-evaluation as well.

Next, comrade Porebski took a position on some issues raised in the discussion.

It is true that there are too few workers and peasants among the basic and voivodship party officers. But this is no accident. Two and one-half years ago the opposition had launched the slogan that workers and peasants are not needed among these authorities. The slogan met with support among the PZPR members who subsequently either had left the party on their own or were expelled from it. Repairing the loss is possible only by reaching the worker and peasant communities and winning over to the party the best members of the two classes.

On the basis of the results of the recent reports-elections campaign, it is now known that more workers and peasants have been elected party officers than during the preceding term of office of the party echelon. The campaign consolidated the party but at the time shed light on the vastness of the tasks facing it. Following are the most important of these highly important tasks.

There is a need for a systematic political and ideological education of PZPR members. The need to make forms of party propaganda more attractive has been mentioned. We are considering it. But no one ever has acquired any knowledge without effort, consistency and tenacity. The awareness of this fact must become a universal value in our party.

It is time to monitor the manner in which existing productive capacities at plants are being utilized. No one is doing this, because under the principles of the economic reform the possibilities of the administrative authorities in this respect are limited. It is the party that should ask the management at factories about their material and manpower resources, the manner in which it is utilizing them, and the nature of its programs for expanding output through improvements in the discipline and organization of labor. A positive approach to these possibilities is to our economy the only chance for emerging on the smooth path.

Lastly, there is the problem of youth. Youth organizations associate about 30 percent of young Poles. It would be well if these organizations would succeed as soon as possible in educating their members in the socialist spirit. As for the remaining 70-80 percent of youth, the party must fight to win them over, at schools and workplaces. The mood in the schools has relaxed. This does not mean, of course, that everything in the schools is in accord with our expectations, especially at higher schools. But where are programs for work with youth in its leisure hours after work in factories, institutions, offices? This situation cannot be ignored.

Such are just a few of the tasks facing us. In undertaking these and many other tasks we should be buoyed by the awareness that only a flexible and strong party can enjoy authority in the society. Recent surveys and opinion polls conducted by experts commissioned by the Central Committee indicate that the authority of the PZPR in the Polish society is steadily rising. This is yet another reason for undertaking the toil of solving all the problems harbored in the present reality.

## Elections

The Conference decided that the election of the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee should precede elections to the Voivodship Committee and the control bodies.

Comrade Aleksander Marszalek, chairman of the Elections Commission, recalling the consultations with delegates prior to the conference, announced that comrade Zdzislaw Balicki was the only candidate to be nominated to the post of First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee.

At the conference itself no comments were made and no other candidate was nominated. Accordingly, the polling commission placed on the electoral slate the name of Zdzislaw Balicki alone.

The Conference elected by secret ballot comrade Zdzislaw Balicki as the First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee. He received 285 out of 293 votes.

This was followed by elections to the PZPR Voivodship Committee, the Voivodship Audit Commission (WKR) and the Voivodship Party Control Commission (WKKP). Voting by secret ballot on candidates whose number exceeded the number of vacancies, the Conference elected 100 members and 31 candidate members of the Voivodship Committee along with 41 members of the WKR and 41 members of the WKKP.

In accordance with the election by-laws, the newly elected First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee became an ex officio member of the Secretariat and Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee.

#### Adoption of Resolutions

Comrade Tadeusz Nesterowicz, chairman of the Resolutions and Recommendations Commission, briefed those present about amendments to the draft resolutions on the tasks of the voivodship party organization for the new term of office. The conference participants had earlier received copies of that draft and were able to study it thoroughly. Following a consideration of the amendments, the resolution was adopted by a voice vote.

Next, the delegates adopted a special resolution that states, among other things: "We the delegates to the 23rd Wroclaw Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference meeting in Wroclaw, the City of Peace, and sharing the opinion of the entire Polish nation, so severely tried in the last war and so threatened by the eventual use of the American Euro-strategic missiles stationed in the FRG and other West European countries, voice our resolute NO to the plans for the further spiraling of armaments by means of which imperialism wants to 'arm the communists to death.'"

The conference participants expressed their acknowledgment of the party members who have retired from occupational activity but continue to work as civic activists in, among others, local PZPR organizations. They were thanked for their devotion and principled attitude to affairs of the party and contemporary Poland.

During an intermission, the Voivodship Committee, the WKR and the WKKP held their plenary sessions. At the Voivodship Committee plenum, members of the Secretariat and the Executive Board were elected by secret ballot (their names are given in the inset on p 1). At the plenary sessions of the WKR and the WKKP the chairmen of these commissions were elected, also by secret ballot.

Comrade Jan Wieczorek was re-elected chairman of the WKR and comrade Stanislaw Kubiakowski was similarly re-elected chairman of the WKKP.

The conference reached its end. The participants sang "The Internationale."

#### First Secretary's Speech

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Jan 84 pp 3,6

[Speech of Zdzislaw Balicki, First Secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee: "The Feeling of Ideological and Organizational Unity Has Been Reborn Within the Party"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Delegates and Esteemed Guests of the Conference

The Voivodship Committee whose term of office has just ended submitted to you a report on its activities during that term along with reports on the situation in various domains of the voivodship's life. Nearly a year ago we also performed a detailed assessment of the path we had to travel since 1981, and I believe that the findings of that assessment still apply. I thus think that it would be doing the right thing for me to draw in this report the attention of comrades primarily to the conclusions ensuing from our difficult experiences, to what is awaiting it, and to the tasks we should pose ourselves and the methods which we should apply in order to advance more effectively on the path of the socialist renewal of the country.

But first let us try to answer, even if only briefly, the question as to the milestone which we have reached in implementing the line of the 9th Congress and whether and what changes have occurred since the previous reports conference.

Let us begin with the economy. In agriculture we had a bumper harvest year. But it could not, unfortunately, supplant completely those huge imports of grain and feedstuffs by means of which we had reached our previous level of meat production. In industry, construction and other branches of the economy real production has been gradually rising and it is even possible to say that a turnabout has been reached, since national income has grown for the first time in 5 years. However, we still have not reached the output level of the peak year 1979 and are encountering various obstacles, especially material and manpower problems. The process of tailoring the economic reform to its paramount objectives and the realities of life has proved to be more complicated than we had assumed. We thus still continue to explore effective mechanisms for attaining or, in present-day parlance, economically enforcing, these objectives, which primarily include an increase in real output, especially of consumer and export goods, and improvements in its efficiency.

We must point to yet another effect. Namely, last year there arose the first signs of the conquest of that excessive inflation which is the bane of the economy and the society. More consumer goods are available, although the improvements in this respect vary depending on the kind of commodity. On the other hand, it has not been possible to link, at least on a broader scale, the wage increases to increases in labor productivity, and this still remains a menacing source of inflation.

In public life the tensions have incontestably relaxed. A growing number of people reached and is reaching the conviction that, despite the zigzags and bristling obstacles, the party and the authorities are advancing in the proper direction, that in practice they protect the country against a return to the situation existing both before August 1980 and before December 1981, that they are not deluding the nation with facile promises, and that to Poland there is no other alternative than overcoming the crisis by adhering to healthy socialist principles and relying on native effort.

We have numerous proofs of this. For the new trade unions, born in an unusually difficult atmosphere as they were, the bridgehead-winning era is in principle over and the time has come to become a mass organization of working

people and explore effective ways of protecting their interests. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) is gaining in strength, associations of creative artists have been formed and the activities of many social organizations are growing.

At the same time, the ground under the feet of the political enemy is gradually giving way. Last year many underground structures collapsed or were liquidated by the security organs of the state. People see more and more clearly that the opponents of socialism have essentially nothing realistic and constructive to propose to the nation. A society which, in the end, desires peace and a chance to recover from its troubles, cannot be in the long run satisfied with the slogan "the worse it is the better" or bought once more with eloquent but empty slogans. Slowly, people also are beginning to perceive the truth that concealed behind this great game, behind the facade of words, are simply the brutal imperial interests of the United States and nothing more. To the bitterest enemies of our system of society a world war has become the only hope for changes in Poland, but few of them dare to offer Poles "a better life" following the nuclear holocaust! The life of our enemies is also greatly complicated by their protectors from the Federal Republic of Germany who are again beginning to raise their voice concerning the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam and demanding the return of our Western territories. Without such allies, without their funds, rewards, advertising and powerful propaganda support, our native opponents could not exist, but they find it increasingly difficult to live and act contrary to the interests of the Polish society.

I do not mean to say by this that the entire society already is supporting us. We are far from such a situation, especially here in Wroclaw, which has been designated as one of the fortresses of the opposition in Poland. It is not so easy to do away with the strata of bitterness, illusions and mistrust which have been built up in human minds, including the minds of many workers. The political enemy has grown too much fattened on our calamities as well as on discrediting the accomplishments of our system of society. He is still exploiting our real limitations, the fact that simply more time is needed for great accomplishments, but he also is exploiting our mistakes and inconsistencies, the weaknesses of the apparatus of power, the inexperience and aspirations of youth, our historical complexes, etc. Thus a long road still awaits us before we can win over the entire society. This road was clearly and tersely described by comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski: "the worst is behind us, but the most difficult period is still ahead of us."

We do not believe that we can succeed in building a complete moral and political unity of the nation, at least so long as classes and basic conflicts of interests exist, and neither do we believe that political, ideological and world-outlook differences will disappear in the society. It is necessary and feasible to rally the principal part of the social classes and strata constituting the basis of socialism, and primarily the working class, as well as the intelligentsia and the peasantry, round the paramount national, state and social goals.

Esteemed Comrades!

What do we need most nowadays in Poland in order to overcome the difficulties and emerge from them in the desired socialist direction? We need more production and more justice. This is the common denominator to which, I

believe, can be reduced one of the principal topics of the discussions held at reports-elections meetings and conferences. I have deliberately placed these two slogans side by side, because they make sense only on the organic unity and proper resolution of the contradictions latent in that unity.

Disregard of production, rejection of the difficult and often unpopular restrictions and requirements relating to it, and emphasis on rhetoric on the subject of distribution and justice can only produce a demagogic effect which essentially leads nowhere, because no class or stratum in Poland, and primarily the working class, can be content with equality in poverty, while, as demonstrated by inflation, the exercise of justice by simply printing and distributing more money magnifies inflation and breeds more injustice.

Our party also cannot overlook the distribution of material boons. The point here is not, of course, championing some abstract justice divorced from the era and realities in which we are living. As stressed by the recent sessions of the Central Committee, our party at all levels must vigilantly watch the processes of distribution and, as the need arises, influence correcting their principles and practice from the standpoint of class and social interests. Disregard of the feeling of justice, the absence of definite norms in that field, and the construction of financial models and systems that may be "technically perfect" but have not convinced the people or which ignore the social consequences of every decision, inevitably result in weakening the bonds between the party and its base.

Against this background, let me formulate several general recommendations regarding our work during the new term of office of the province party organization:

1. We must magnify the party's influence on the growth of real production, especially of consumer and export goods and also on the effectiveness of that production. During our new term of office we should reattain the output level of 1979, even if the production is restructured. Some 15 of our enterprises are, besides, reaching that level.

We expect of the party members who are plant managers that they become more demanding toward the sizable group of slackers and malingerers at their plants. This hurts the feeling of justice among industrious workers and affects the work climate adversely.

2. Our particularly important task will be to streamline the plant wage systems. This is indispensable from the standpoint of both a just distribution of the results of labor and the requirements of the economic reform. So long as wage systems at enterprises are not adapted to the personal contribution of labor by every individual worker it is vain to expect that the reform can be linked to the worker and his attitude toward work and conservation. Our party organizations should become interested in the chance afforded by the decree on wage experiments. The Voivodship Committee should play a greater role in popularizing useful experience in this domain.

3. During the current reports-elections campaign numerous expressions of alarm over the state of the machinery pool at many of our plants have been voiced for the first time. This anxiety is quite justified, because time is passing and we cannot count on substantial funds and imported equipment. This will be

a hard nut to crack, and it is all the more reason why we must counteract the mood of sad resignation in this respect which has begun to reign among certain work collectives. There is a need to create the conditions and climate for the development of technological progress, to support all valuable initiatives and to encourage inventions and the modernization of facilities.

The Voivodship Committee relies on the Wroclaw community of engineers and scientists and desires to increase the usefulness of its contacts with that community. Technicians are the largest segment of the Wroclaw intelligentsia, and a segment at that which is closest to the workforces, to the working class. They thus are objectively, irrespective of the mood of frustration reigning here and there, the principal ally of the working class and its party. The best antidote to frustration is creative labor that is valued and utilized by the authorities. The distinctive cult of rank and title which has spread in our life during the previous decade should be supplanted with esteem for genuine mental labor and its results.

4. At meetings and conferences the comrades have universally demanded intensifying the struggle against all pathology in economy and in the distribution of material boons. They declared that speculation and tax cheating should receive such punishment as would make them no longer worthwhile. They opposed a situation in which the incomes of certain private entrepreneurs were the multiples of the salaries of the directors of state-owned plants, etc.

Of course, in the present [economic] crisis in our country there exists not only a political underground but also a much larger economic underground that is extremely difficult to combat. Essentially, in the long run, one highly effective means of counteracting it is strengthening the position of the socialized sector in the nation's economy. The front of our struggle against speculation and against distortions in the economy and division of income already is quite broad but still not sufficiently effective. Too often, it appears, court sentences in such cases are insufficiently severe, and too rarely are the publicized in the press along with the names of the culprits.

It is a fact, however, that beginning last year the economic sharks, speculators and dishonest entrepreneurs have been increasingly hampered in their operations. We were able to ascertain this together with the delegates comrades Lis from MADRO and Andrusyn from PAFAWAG during our visit to the Chamber of the Treasury as well as on the basis of WUSW.

Comrades!

In our countryside and agriculture the situation varies quite broadly, providing cause both for worry and for gratification. We are proud that the farmers of our voivodship have last year ranked first in the country as regards the size of the harvests and procurements of grain. There are sufficient supplies of coal, artificial fertilizers and most crop protectants for the countryside, so much that even the ROKITA ZPO might have problems in marketing them. The supplies of other means of production have somewhat improved. On the other hand, an acute shortage of certain building materials persists and the supply of various manufactured goods remains insufficient.

The trends in livestock production are unclear. We cannot tell whether the decline in the livestock herd has been halted. The state has launched a more active feedstuffs policy, but the problem of procurement prices remains unsolved. Comrades, you will understand yourselves that in this respect we have to tread very cautiously, but the most important thing is that industry should understand that the prices of means of production for agriculture cannot be jacked up with impunity. This is bound to boomerang on the cities in the form of higher food prices.

It is intriguing that, despite the decline in the cow population, our milk procurements are steadily rising and the share of first-grade milk has already exceeded 80 percent of all milk deliveries. The quality of milk could be permanently improved if farmers would be provided with refrigerators for the summer months. Perhaps the comrades from the POLAR Works should ponder this.

We are especially worried because the long-range program for land reclamation and water supply to the countryside, as well as of rural water management in general, which we had voted upon at a joint session of our Voivodship Committee and the ZSL Voivodship Committee, is not being implemented. The drought is causing increasing damage to many of our villages, and increasingly often they have to be provided with water from outside sources. It should be borne in mind that the upkeep of five cows requires 40 pails of water daily. Were the present pace of work in this field to continue, nearly 100 years would be needed to solve completely the problem of water supply and land reclamation in the Wroclaw countryside. This, of course, is unacceptable and requires revising implementation techniques and the size of outlays on this purpose. It is worth considering whether school youth could, during its vacations, assist in this matter which is so important to feeding the population.

We are gratified that state farms have passed the difficult test of the economic reform, that cold shower so to speak, and, as put by comrade Wladyslaw Dziankowski, chairman of the Council of the Association of State Farms (PPGR) in the newspaper interview he had given, are emerging onto the smooth path. They already are achieving high harvests, providing the state with 32 percent of our overall grain deliveries, 70 percent of rape, 46 percent of livestock and 42 percent of milk. But we are aware that they are still far from reaching the limit of their potential given our soil and climate conditions as we can see if we compare the results achieved by the agriculture of the Dresden District in the GDR.

In the countryside too we must improve our watch over justice. We continue to receive reports on instances of improper pricing of crop deliveries, partiality in sales of goods, equipment and tractors, and mistakes and dishonesty in the provision of services. Care should also be taken to avoid being "taken for a ride" by various wheelers and dealers, pseudo-farmers and the bourgeoisie desiring to invest its capital in land.

Esteemed Comrades!

At our meetings there was no dearth either of complaints and suggestions relating to an improved satisfaction of the social and cultural needs of the population. This is understandable, and it should be emphasized that the comrades in general avoided demanding an increase in investment projects,

being aware of the restrictions needed in that field. The voivodship administration must allot resources primarily for the completion of the projects already being implemented and distribute as precisely and fairly as possible the scarce funds available for new investments.

We adhere to our postulate that objective criteria for classifying the degree of urgency of particular (trade, school, health-service and other) investment projects in discrete city quarters, cities and gminas should be developed even before the elections to people's councils begin.

It would be difficult for me to discuss let alone enumerate the long roster of problems and vexations linked to the living conditions of our population. Allow me to dwell only on three long-range programs whose drafting and approval are considered particularly important by the Voivodship Committee, and which were drafted with the active participation of many comrades present here. These programs were also drafted with the participation of many eminent experts and scientists, including non-party members. I refer to programs on health care, housing construction and management, and public transit. We should continually keep track of these programs during our new term of office and reconvene plenary Voivodship Committee sessions devoted exclusively to these topics.

How are they beginning to be implemented? If we approach our possibilities realistically, it can be stated that fairly satisfactory progress has been made in health service. We already started using the new large hospital on Kamienski Street and commenced a number of important investment projects. A contract for the purchase of a computerized tomograph has been signed, and we shall strive strenuously to equip our health care system with a modern set of apparatus for the detection and treatment of cancer as well as for the treatment of cardiac disease, on relying on hard-currency assistance from the plants.

We set ourselves as a highly important task the commencement of the construction of clinics for the Medical Academy. We do not cease being mindful of the difficult conditions of our emergency health-care facilities.

Of course, health care means not only investments and equipment but also its organization, its personnel and the qualifications and ethical attitude of that personnel. In this respect we expect a more principled attitude from the party organizations active in the health care system. At the same time, we wish to state that our position is that health-care personnel should receive absolute priority in wage increases (in the budget sphere) and that these increases should be much higher than their anticipated mean national level. For the situation in this respect in the health care system has become much more critical than among other occupational groups.

As regards housing construction, last year we released for occupancy 4,616 apartments through various forms of construction, exceeding the plan targets. An important role was played by the so-called plant-patronage construction of housing as well as by the construction sponsored by the ZSMP, to which we owe as many as 870 apartments. That has also been the second year in a row for catching up with the backlog in the construction of housing infrastructure. This year we would like to build 5,000 apartments.

As you can see, comrades, we have rebounded from the bottom quite far up, and yet there used to be years in which as many as 7,000 apartments had been built, and the present pace of construction will in no way solve this urgent social problem. We must thus consider as soon as possible, as early as this coming February, how the volume of housing construction can be expanded with each year. The problem lies in that we have to surmount not one or two but several barriers.

One thing is certain: the front of housing construction should be the broadest possible and implemented in various forms and with various technologies. Of course, the brunt has to be borne by regular construction enterprises. But given our present situation, industrial plants and other economic organizations must also help out in this matter, along with small cooperatives, youth and anyone else interested.

At our meetings and conferences doubts have been voiced about the feasibility of any major expansion of single-family private home building. It was said that such construction is accessible only to people who are well-off, and thus can only be a marginal factor in the solution of the problem. Indeed, that is so to a large extent. But must that be so? Certain comrades claim that it does not have to be so and, what is more, offer specific proposals.

A few words about urban transit. A complete restructuring of the Wroclaw City transit system as linked to major exit routes and other large cities in the voivodship is a gigantic task that can be accomplished only gradually and in stages. No one is satisfied by this situation, but to tell the truth at present what matters most is that interruptions of this work could be prevented, that several traffic hubs are being modernized, bridges are being built and even the construction of the downtown highway loop is being continued.

Our investment program for the Municipal Transit Enterprise (MPK) is being implemented. For it is not enough to make demands on the MKP's workforce: its difficult working conditions have to be improved.

As you know, comrades, if only from the report on the previous plenum of our Voivodship Committee, many elementary schools are bursting at the seams. The next few years will be critical as concerns accommodating the steep demographic peak in the schools and it is not surprising that many voices are demanding the construction of new schools. We are building more schools than we did throughout the entire past 10-year period and we intend to build even more, but this will not completely eliminate teaching in shifts. Complementary efforts and initiative by the local communities and authorities would be highly useful to school construction. We turn to them with this appeal, believing that the coming important anniversaries--of the 40 years of the PRL and of the recovery of the Western lands by the motherland--provide a fitting and favorable occasion for such a mobilization.

Comrades, I also wish to inform you that construction workers from the Dresden District, with whom we maintain longtime and extremely fruitful contact, desire to erect an elementary school in Wroclaw. That school would be built at a rapid pace, within a year. I believe that we would name it the Wroclaw-Dresden Friendship School.

Since I am speaking of the living conditions of our population, I believe, comrades, that we should implement during our new term of office a mature and long-range program for environmental protection. A special opinion poll on which dangers are regarded as most important by Poles revealed that they rank environmental pollution third after alcoholism and world war. The SD Voivodship Committee has proposed a joint plenum on this issue, and its proposal was supported by the ZSL Voivodship Committee. In our voivodship we have many competent experts. A preliminary report on the state of the environment has been compiled. And valuable program accomplishments of the Voivodship People's Council have been scored in this respect. We should thus pose ourselves this task.

The comrades from the higher-school party committees believe that some time during our new term of office the Voivodship Committee should devote a special session to the activity and tasks of the party at higher schools. I think that we should share this opinion. Party organizations at higher educational institutions operate under complicated political conditions as these institutions are an arena of an acute struggle for the socialist nature of education and the opposition has sunk strong roots in certain of them. In this struggle our party organizations become toughened and slowly gain in strength.

Various problems relating to both instruction and scientific research also have accumulated at higher educational institutions. The solution of these problems requires the party's support. I expect that this will be reflected in the discussion at the present conference.

Esteemed Comrades!

The 9th Congress, drawing conclusions from the events, placed special emphasis on developing the socialist democracy. This concerns building such a system of the socialist state as would assure not just a formal but and above all a genuine influence of working people on the directions and methods of politics and the manner of governing.

I think that we made a major step forward in this direction, despite the adverse atmosphere of the economic crisis and acute political struggle, and that we shall not depart from this road. The enemy accuses us of striding too slowly and reluctantly on this road, but it is precisely his destructive activities that placed obstacles in our path and imposed restrictions.

The democracy which we want to create should be an instrument of criticism, control and the programming and revisions of policies, but it may not be exploited against socialism and turned into a destructive chaos. It was this approach to the socialist state that gave birth to the PRON, which proved to be a good platform on which to associate people of differing political views and world outlook who support the basic interests of socialist Poland. We should support this growing social movement, make it open to initiatives and differences in opinion and listen to its opinions.

Our aim is as follows: an efficient and strong administration reinforced with a ramified network of active, influential and effective representative bodies and self-governments. This chance is afforded by the decree on people's councils and territorial self-government as well as by the coming elections to people's councils, and we must actively exploit this chance. We wish to

support and develop, on the basis of joint tasks and co-responsibility, our cooperation with the ZSL and SD, and we support the practice of frequent working sessions of the cooperation commissions. This strengthening of cooperation and meshing of views will be particularly needed during the campaign for elections to the people's councils.

Implementing the resolution of the previous reports-elections conference, during that campaign we will elect not only the voivodship and city-quarter people's councils but also the municipal people's council of Wroclaw, and we shall establish the office of the mayor of the city so as to provide this great organism with a more effective system for joint programming, administration and coordination. As known, the Voivodship People's Council has adopted a resolution on this matter in March of last year.

Concerning self-governments: we believe that a considerable potential for spurring the activism of people in the communities in which they live is harbored in the influence exerted on local self-governments and housing-project and city-block committees by our experienced comrades belonging to local party organizations. We propose that one of the first plenary sessions of the new Voivodship Committee be devoted entirely to this topic.

We support strong and effective self-governments in economic organizations as well as genuine trade unions. These unions must be socialist in nature and consider the interest and good of the entire state, but at the same time they should be independent of the management at all levels. We support such trade unions because experience has taught us that a strong mass organization of working people--such as was envisioned by Lenin--must function in the socialist system of society--an organization that effectively protects their interests and helps them surmount the contradictions that arise in the course of building socialism.

Trade unions in our voivodship last year have taken a major step forward in expanding their membership. Their echelons increasingly convert to organic day-by-day service in behalf of the workforces. They intervene in problem of wages, housing, health care, and safety and hygiene of labor, and they are preparing themselves for elections of social inspectors of labor. Unfortunately, not all party members have grasped the profound systemic rationale for the existence of trade unions. Influenced by the bitter experiences of the recent past, by the disappointment caused them by the old trade unions, and primarily by Solidarity, in which they had at first placed great hopes, they are not well-disposed toward the new unions, and sometimes even they believe that the socialist system of society can dispense with them. We must patiently overcome such moods. For trade unions have their rationale in being not an elitist organization but, above all, a mass organization of workers.

I believe that the comments culled from the minutes of reports-elections meetings which stressed that our party has a twofold duty in promoting socialist democracy deserve to be mentioned in this report. That twofold duty consists in that we should promote the development of the democracy but also watch over preserving its class-oriented nature. In this respect no one will replace us. It is we who should endeavor that the new people's councils should contain the largest possible number of workers among their numbers, and that all kinds of self-governments should represent properly the interests of the

principal social classes and strata. Yet it happens sometimes that certain self-government bodies alienate themselves, as it were, from their communities and become not so much representatives of their constituencies as advocates of the machinery of administration. I personally have never yet encountered an instance in which the supervisory council of a cooperative took a position publicly, in a newspaper, on issues raised by public opinion.

Party members have to play a special role in representative bodies and self-governments. We must belong to them and represent and defend there our rationale as well as, jointly with ZSL and SD members, in the course of exchanges of views, take positions on issues and work out decisions. We must fulfill our leading role in the awareness that we are neither omniscient nor omnipotent.

Comrades!

During the most critical period the Wroclaw party organization has suffered a painful decline in membership, although it emerged from that period in an organizationally more cohesive form and with unity of views. That majority of members who remained has accepted the party line, termed the line of struggle, accord and reforms, and it is focusing its activism on the tasks and methods best suiting this formula. We have experienced more than one failure in implementing this entire complex line, but on the whole our party organizations and echelons have accomplished a huge amount of political work. I also think that, in measure with our contemporary resources and possibilities, we availed ourselves well of the historic chance offered us primarily by the comrades from the people's armed forces and the organs of law enforcement and public security.

Today, early in the new year 1984, we are operating in a completely different situation and at a completely different level. New valuable members, mostly young people, are joining us. Thus while as late as in 1982 203 candidate members had joined our ranks, last year that figure rose to 660. We are beginning to regain the members-workers who had turned in their party cards because they could not withstand powerful pressures and often acted in isolation. Thus the time has come for posing ourselves the task of gradually strengthening the worker core of the Wroclaw party organization.

We are developing, not without difficulty, a style of action of party organizations and echelons that is based on organic and systematic work, normal order and efficient organization of labor. We should continue this emphasis on a planned nature of our activities, a proper and regular course of meetings and a competent organization of the activism of party members.

We tried to establish within our organization a system for the structure and circulation of information from the top to the bottom and vice versa. It is described in a separate report. From the vantage point of the present, the performance of that system, the extent to which it is utilized and the adequacy of information provided, should be re-examined upon consulting Comrade Delegates as well. I also believe that we have a pretty good idea of the moods among individual workforces and communities. In addition, we have established a social research center which has already conducted two important opinion surveys among workforces and party members. Naturally, this cannot replace our direct contacts and talks with people.

Comrades, you are aware that we have to rebuild from scratch the system of ideological training within the party, on establishing to this end the Voivodship party school. The training of our aktiv is by now relatively well-organized. All kinds of courses are offered and popular-scientific conferences, seminars and people's universities exist, including the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. But the base of this pyramid does not look as good in comparison, especially as regards the quantity and quality of training meetings, despite the marked growth in the demand of party members for knowledge about the party's ideology and policy. We should investigate the roots of this situation.

Party work means, even when it deals with technology and the economy, work with and through people above all an the ability to inspire, convince, properly evaluate and utilize them. Thus this belongs largely within the domain of the party's cadre policy--an indispensable attribute for the exercise of the party's leading role. This policy is closely watched by the society and has been subjected--for various reasons besides--to social criticism. It is a fact that the professional advancement and careers of our party members were and still not infrequently are intuitive, accidental and, if it can be put this way, based on limited human material. That is why, already in 1981, we posed ourselves the task of working out a coherent system for the emergence of candidates for executive and managerial personnel as well as for the selection, rotation and training of such personnel. Admittedly, this task, which, if it was to produce specific results, could not be reduced to a collection of banal formulas, proved to be difficult to accomplish. However, in formal and organizational terms it was carried out. We have established the rules of the game, particularly as regards the emergence and selection of cadre, the formation of cadre reserves and the evaluation of individuals in managerial posts. The present term of office should be a period during which these principles will be completely applied in the operating practice of party echelons and organizations. The first comrades included in the so-called pilot cadre reserve have already been appointed to managerial posts. Our probational reserve dossier contains the names of 50 young and promising experts. Most of them are undergoing special retraining in organization and management. Today comrade Nieckarz, who is present at this conference, will meet with them. A voivodship center for the training of the managerial cadre--as a component element of the state cadre system--exists in the organizational stage in this voivodship.

In this report I had to relinquish discussing many topics of our rich life, in the expectations that they would be raised in the discussion. But I cannot omit making some comments on our work with youth, which will take up after us the generational relay baton. The preliminary questions already are behind us. We already know how and why did it happen that a substantial proportion of young people let themselves be lured by seductive slogans. We are aware how much reason was there behind the attitudes of youth, how they were influenced by the evolved lifestyle and the shortage of wise upbringing. We have the knowledge and now there is a need for action attracting the young to work and political thinking. Comrades, this is something for which we should begrudge neither time nor patience.

At the Voivodship Committee and in city-quarter committees we must restore meetings with worker youth and school upperclassmen and provide more effective

aid to youth organizations as well as many other--sports, tourist and cultural--organizations associating a large part of young people.

All elements of the educational front are important, but nowadays the principal keys to bringing up youth are to be found in the school and at the workplace. We will want to ask comrade delegates to participate in extensive party visits to this unusually important domain of our work.

Esteemed Conference Guests and Comrade Delegates!

The preamble to the draft resolution prepared for this conference by a team of delegates states as follows:

"The Wroclaw Voivodship party organization is, together with the entire party, living through an important stage of organizational consolidation and participating in the complex creative process of finding and affirming its Marxist-Leninist political-ideological identity.

"The results of the reports-elections campaign confirm that the party in our province has succeeded in rallying itself round the program planks of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, beating back and combatting the counter-revolutionary menace, defending a majority of the incontestable accomplishments of the building of socialism in Poland so far, achieving substantial progress in repairing the bonds--undermined by its own mistakes and the activities of the political enemy--with its fundamental class base, namely, the aware and activist part of the working class, and commencing to implement the most important task of the present moment: leading the country out of its deep socio-economic crisis."

I believe that the above is a valid summing-up of the road traveled during the past term of office of the voivodship party organization as well as of our present situation. The reports-elections campaign which we had conducted since October of last year was not only a test of our strength but also a source of additional strength, of an upsurge of activism and exchange of thoughts within the party. Now we should collect together all this material rich in ideas, record and elaborate numerous recommendations and discuss ways of utilizing them at a Voivodship Committee plenum. Many valuable comments and suggestions have also been transmitted by comrade delegates individually and through problem-oriented teams. We succeeded in printing some of these suggestions and distributing them to comrade delegates. This is an important accomplishment of our conference and--I believe--much of it could also be utilized by the Central Committee and the National Conference of Delegates.

Of course, the reports-elections campaign was not free of shortcomings and revealed our weaknesses as well. Some of these weaknesses I mentioned in the report. But one thing is clear: there has been a rebirth within our party of such values as a feeling of ideological and organizational unity, a feeling of responsibility for the party as a whole, the ability to find a balance between discipline and democracy, the ability to evaluate phenomena from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, and a strong feeling of an internationalist bond with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist bloc and international worker movement.

Comrades, we experienced difficult times and what matters most is that we should bear in mind this lesson of history and infer from it all the proper conclusions for building socialism in Poland.

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CSO: 2600/669

RESULTS OF KATOWICE PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Account of Proceedings

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 pp 1,5

[Report: "Let Us Concentrate Effort on the Most Important Issues: the 18th Katowice Province PZPR Reports-Elections Conference Has Outlined the Tasks for the New Term of Office; Comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn Re-Elected First Secretary of the Province Committee; 29 Comrades Took Part in Discussion and 54 Had Their Comments Included in the Minutes; Program Resolution as Well as Resolution on the Defense of Peace Adopted"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /A total of 396 delegates represented the 265,000 members of the PZPR in Katowice Province at the 18th Province Reports-Elections Conference held on Friday 27 [Jan 84]/

/In the discussion, the delegates summed up the experiences of the past and particularly difficult term of office and assessed the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Plenum and regular plenary sessions of the Central Committee as well as of the resolutions of the province party organization itself. Further, they outlined the directions of the party's actions in the region during the new term of office. Comrade B. Ferensztajn was re-elected First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. The conference elected a new slate of the 120-member Province Committee plus 35 candidate members of the Province Committee as well as a new slate of the 51-member Province Audit Commission and 51-member Province Party Control Commission./

/The conference participants voted by acclaim a resolution on the defense of peace. The delegates unanimously accepted the Resolution of the 18th Province Reports-Elections Conference. (The text of both resolutions is published on pp 1 and 5)./

The deliberations were attended by representatives of the highest party and state authorities: members of the Politburo of the Central Committee--comrade Zbigniew Messner, Vice Premier, and comrade Jerzy Romanik, miner at the Siemianowice Mine; delegates to the province conference--comrade Manfred Gorywoda, Central Committee secretary, Vice Premier, Chairman of the Planning

Commission under the Council of Ministers, and comrade Kazimierz Morawski, Chairman of the Central Audit Commission; ministers--comrade Czeslaw Piotrowski (Mining and Power Industry), comrade Stanislaw Kukuryka (Construction and Building Materials) and Prof Stefan Jarzebski, minister, Director of the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Management. The Central Party Control Commission was represented by a member of its Presidium, comrade Alojzy Gorzawski. Also present were Central Committee members and a group of Central Committee workers. The invited guests included: Marian Karasek, Chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Province Committee; Jerzy Jozwiak, Chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Province Committee; Prof Adam Szczurowski, Chairman of the WRN [Province People's Council], representatives of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], veterans of the worker movement, party aktiv, and representatives of trade unions and youth and social organizations.

Opening the conference, comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn, First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, declared that the past term of office was the most difficult in the party's history. It was a great test of ideological commitment to party members. The speaker stated: "We are conquering the thresholds of the qualitative transformations initiated at the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress." He further declared that the road traveled so far was assessed during the reports-elections campaign. The province party organization came to the conference ideologically consolidated and strengthened. The influence of party organizations has grown, and the responsibility of party members is growing. The province conference should answer the question of what has been accomplished and what could not be accomplished, as well as what tasks are facing the province organization in the immediate future. In formulating answers to these questions it should be borne in mind that the working class of Katowice Province represents the motive power of the party's activities. The accomplishments of this conference, which is being held on the 39th anniversary of the liberation of Katowice, should serve well the working class and working people of the region.

Next, the delegates approved the membership of the Conference Presidium, chosen through consultation at regional meetings. Three chairmen of deliberations were elected: comrade Zdzislaw Swiatek, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Czerwone Zagłębie Mine; comrade Stanislaw Robenek, mayor of Wodzislaw; and comrade Henryk Bieleniak, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Piast Mine. Comrade Stanislaw Robenek began to chair the deliberations. The conference approved the membership of the mandate, recommendations and election commissions.

The program report of the old Executive Board of the Province Committee was presented by Bogumil Ferensztajn, First Secretary of the Province Committee /(the report is published in toto on pp 3 and 4)/.

Reports of the WKKP [Province Party Control Commission] and the WKR [Province Audit Commission] were received earlier by delegates as part of the materials distributed prior to the conference /(extensive information on the activities of the party's province control organs was published in TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA prior to the conference)/.

On the proposal of delegates from Katowice, a representative group of conference participants placed bouquets of flowers at the Gratitude Monument

and the Monument to the Polish Soldier as well as on the graves of soldiers of the Red Army, thus honoring the memory of those fallen in the battle to liberate the city.

Following verification of the conference's legality by the mandate commission, chaired by comrade Witold Kolaska, director of the POM [State Machinery Station] in Jawiszowicze, the discussion began. During the discussion, comrade Rudolf Orzel, chairman of the election commission and first secretary of the Zabrze city party committee, nominated comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn as the First Secretary of the Province Committee, in accord with his previous nomination during regional meetings and unanimous nomination by the election commission.

The floor was taken by Vice Premier comrade Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, who transmitted to the delegates wishes for fruitful deliberations as well as greetings from comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Thereupon, in behalf of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, he recommended to the conference that comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn retain the post of First Secretary of the Province Committee. Comrade Z. Messner declared that, knowing his character traits, ideological commitment and talent for directing party work, he had accepted full responsibility for recommending the candidacy of comrade B. Ferensztajn to the members of the Province Committee Plenum at the moment when he himself had to resign from that post in order to assume the post of Vice Premier. The first few weeks of the management of the province party organization by comrade B. Ferensztajn had fully confirmed the justness of this choice.

No other candidates were nominated. The delegates appointed a polling commission in charge of the election of First Secretary of the Province Committee. Following discussion by various delegates, direct secret balloting took place. The results were announced to the delegates by the chairman of the polling commission, comrade Witold Pietrek, first secretary of the Chorzow city party committee. A total of 396 delegates voted, and all votes were valid. Of this total 394 voted for comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn as the First Secretary of the Katowice Province PZPR Committee. The first to congratulate comrade B. Ferensztajn on his re-election were members of the Central Committee; in behalf of all conference participants, the chairman of the deliberations transmitted congratulations and wishes for fruitful work.

As the next item on the agenda, the chairman of the election commission presented slates of candidates for members and candidate members of the Province Committee as well as for members of the WKKP and WKR, proposed on the basis of nominations made by delegates during regional consultation meetings and opined upon by the local party organizations to which these candidates belong. The delegates did not comment on the proposed nominations. The presented lists were complemented with nominations made on the spot. Four more comrades were nominated on the spot as candidates for members of the Province Committee Plenum; one more name was added to the list of candidates for candidate members of the Province Committee; two more comrades were nominated on the spot as candidates for members of the WKR and three for members of the WKKP. The delegates approved the membership of the polling commission as proposed by the conference Presidium for handling the elections to the

authorities and control organs of the province party organization. After successive speeches by delegates, the elections took place.

Following an intermission the chairing of the deliberations was taken over by comrade Zdzislaw Swiatek.

During subsequent discussion the conference Presidium proposed that the participants adopt a resolution on the defense of peace. The draft of that resolution was presented in behalf of the Recommendations Commission by comrade Anna Musiolik, director of Combined School No 3 in Jastrzebie. The delegates accepted the resolution by acclaim.

Next, comrade Waldemar Rykala of Czerwone Zaglebie Mine proposed in behalf of the Sosnowiec party organization that an appeal be made to party members in Katowice Province for giving broad support to propagandizing among the workforces activities in favor of translating into reality the idea of building the Monument to the Fallen in the Struggle to Consolidate People's Rule. The conference unanimously supported this appeal.

The next speaker was comrade Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee /(highlights of his speech are published on p 3)/.

Comrade Henryk Babka, chairman of the polling commission and first secretary of the plant party committee at Knurów Mine, announced the results of the elections to the authorities and control organs of the province party organization.

During the intermission, the newly elected authorities constituted themselves.

During the last part of the deliberations, which was chaired by comrade Henryk Bielenin, the floor was taken in behalf of the Commission for Resolutions and Proposals by its chairman comrade Roman Grebosz, director of the Inter-Province Party School. He presented the draft of the Resolution of the 18th Province Reports-Election Conference, which was unanimously accepted by the delegates.

Next, the chairman of the Polling Commission selected at the first plenary meeting of the Province Committee, announced the results of the elections to the Executive Board and the Secretariat of the Province Committee /(for the communique from the Plenum, see below)/. The chairman of the deliberations announced the names of those elected to the presidiums of the WKR and the WKKP.

#### First Session of the PZPR Province Committee Plenum

During the intermission, the first plenary session of the newly elected Katowice Province PZPR Committee was held. The session was chaired by comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn, First Secretary of the Province Committee. It was attended by the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee: Vice Premier comrade Zbigniew Messner and comrade Jerzy Romanik as well as by Vice Premier comrade Manfred Gorywoda, Central Committee Secretary.

The Executive Board and Secretariat of the Province Committee were elected. Comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn nominated candidates for both these organs.

The following comrades were elected to the Executive Board of the Province Committee: Stanislaw Barczyk, Ryszard Borek, Czeslaw Brozek, Marian Gustek, Antoni Janocha, Witold Kolaska, Ryszard Korzeniewski, Jan Lazarczyk, Stefan Mozgol, Andrzej Nalepa, Urszula Ostrowska, Ryszard Paluch, Roman Paszkowski, Jan Psiuk, Jan Rachwalik, Marian Rauszer, Henryk Rembierz, Ryszard Szuster, Andrzej Tomczewski, Jan Zielinski.

The following comrades were elected secretaries: Stanislaw Barczyk, Czeslaw Brozek, Jan Rachwalik, Marian Rauszer, Henryk Rembierz, Jan Zielinski.

During the first Plenum comrade Manfred Gorywoda answered questions about the operation of our economy, the wage policy and social protection of the most disadvantaged social groups.

Session of the WKR and the WKKP

At the same time, the Province Audit Commission and the Province Party Control Commission held their first sessions. Chairmen and members of the presidiums were elected. Comrade Waldemar Poltorak was re-elected Chairman of the Province Audit Commission and comrade Eugeniusz Kotas, also re-elected, Chairman of the Province Party Control Commission.

Closing Speech of the First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee

At the conference's end the floor was taken by the re-elected First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn. He expressed his thanks for entrusting to him the functions of First Secretary of the Province Committee and voiced his conviction that his work will be supported by the party organizations represented by the delegates as well as by the elements and members of the entire province party organization. Later in his speech comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn declared: "The newly elected Province Committee includes 61 workers, which is more than one-half of the membership of this echelon. This is a just and proper political decision, demonstrating the responsible attitude of comrade delegates. Such a large proportion of workers in the membership of the Province Committee is a reflection of personal respect for them as well as of the respect displayed by our 18th Conference for the working people of Katowice Province and at the same time for the basic working-class core of our province party organization.

"The range of topics raised in the discussion was varied, running from ideological issues through economic, social-service, consumerist and intra-party issues to the international situation inclusively. That is good, because no domain is unimportant to the party. I'll say more: it's in the perception of all circumstances, even of minor problems that resides the strength of the party, its credibility and society's identification with its program."

Next, the First Secretary of the Province Committee thanked the guests for the comments they made at the conference, which were a valuable contribution to drafting the program of action.

The re-elected First Secretary devoted a large part of his closing speech to describing the activities of comrade Zbigniew Messner. He recalled that comrade Messner has been a member of the province party organization since as far back as 1953. It was on its recommendation that he became, among other things, a delegate to the 9th Congress and a member of the Politburo. Comrade Messner exerted a great personal influence on the style of work of the Province Committee and worked out many new forms of party action.

In the last part of his speech comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn declared: "At this conference we adopted a program of action that had been conceived throughout the [reports-elections] campaign starting at the level of grassroots party elements. This program contains the collective wisdom of the working class, the intellectual potential of the socialist intelligentsia, the thoughts of working people. But the program's adoption is only the first step toward action. It is our duty to launch action soon at all party and economic levels.

"In behalf of the conference I appeal to party members in Katowice Province for an active participation in implementing the adopted resolution. I am convinced that the working people and population of Katowice Province will join in translating into reality tasks intended to improve living standards, tasks ensuing from the paramount objective, namely, service to the people, the development of socialism.

"Comrade Messner, advise comrade Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, of the atmosphere in which our 18th Conference took place. Tell him that we shall implement consistently the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress. Please transmit to comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski our greetings and best wishes as well."

Comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn thanked comrade Piotr Gebka for his work as Province Committee secretary. He also thanked the representatives of the political parties for attending the conference. Lastly, he expressed his thanks for the good wishes conveyed to him by, especially, the fraternal district committees of Donetsk, Ostrava and Halle.

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The conference ended with the singing of "The Internationale".

#### Zbigniew Messner Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 3

[Highlights of the speech of comrade Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers: "Streamlining the Economy as an Inseparable Element of the Party's Ideological and Political Offensive" under the rubric "Eighteenth Province Reports-Elections Conference"]

[Text] We are ending another reports-elections campaign of the PZPR. A tremendous majority of party members have taken part in the meetings and conferences of the present campaign. In addition to fulfilling the statutory obligation, a universal and comprehensive review of the state and quality of

the party's ranks was carried out. It can be quite objectively stated that the findings were good.

The hopes of our political enemies were frustrated: they had expected that the campaign would expose and deepen the alleged "weakness" of the party, that it would be a "silent" campaign of low merit and poor in emotional commitment. What happened was just the opposite. During meetings and conferences tens of thousands of party members took the floor. Just as at today's Province Conference, all issues were discussed rationally and with a proprietary concern. Many problems of plants, institutions and cities were raised. A number of proposals and recommendations was made.

The elections conducted at all levels confirmed the validity of a definite majority of earlier cadre decisions. In most cases, the incumbent comrades who had led our activities during a period most difficult to the country and the party were re-elected.

The party apparat and aktiv proved themselves, even though they experienced major changes in the last 2.5 years. Many young people with a relatively short record of party work emerged in the apparat and aktiv. Working side by side with their senior comrades, they compensated for their inexperience by their commitment and acquired knowledge. They are the new capital of party organizations.

Improving the work with the worker aktiv should become one of the major tasks during the new term of office of the province party echelon.

In the hierarchy of party tasks ideological work is in practice often relegated to a secondary plane although lip service is paid to its cardinal importance. This ensues from the conviction that such work and its effects are hardly measurable. Yet the truth is that the effects of ideological work are measurable. For they are measured in terms of the attitudes of those surrounding us, including our party comrades as well.

Why is it, therefore, that we still cannot hit upon proper methods for conducting this work? After all, it cannot be claimed that people have no interest in various political and ideological problems. This is demonstrated, for example, by private disputes and discussions. There is no lack of interest, but poorly selected topics and unattractive methods are the reason for the shortcomings in our political work.

The foundations for restoring the leading role of the working class within the system of the socialist democracy have been provided by the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress. It pointed out the directions of reforms in the functioning of the state and the national economy, with the object of preventing any future transformation of social conflicts into acute crisis phenomena. On analyzing the causes of the socio-political and economic crises, the Congress identified deviations from the universal principles of building socialism as the principal source of the mistakes.

We Shall Not Solve Our Problems Unless the Ideological Perspective Is Here

That is why we listen attentively to the voices of all working people and on this basis determine the hierarchy and priorities of tasks. Ideological

activity has first priority to the party, and we want to develop it in close linkage to life itself. This stems from grasping the truth that short-range activities lacking the ideological perspective cannot solve our problems.

During the period of the crisis it is not easy to propagate ideology and defend party policy in a principled manner. This is well known by the comrades from plant party organizations. Concerning the comments of one of the discussants at the conference, comrade Messner declared that the principle of struggle and accord is mandatory in ideological activity. All party elements should resolutely combat declared enemies of socialism, those who operate in the underground. On the other hand, we shall strive toward an accord with those who support the further socialist development of the country, those who have doubts for reasons of, e.g. world outlook. The actions of the party leadership are accompanied by awareness of the extent to which problems and issues relating to ideological work are complicated. The report of the Politburo presented during the 13th PZPR Central Committee stressed that it is of fundamental importance to assure cohesiveness of action in the planes of ideology, politics and economics. This thesis pinpoints the principal field of ideological struggle, which at present is the economy.

The tortuous process of emerging from the economic crisis has already been begun. Now at the threshold of the second year of the 1983-1985 Three-Year Plan we find that national income has begun to grow for the first time in 4 years.

To perpetuate and spur these positive trends, it is necessary to exploit the latent potential. This potential is harbored in the country's economy, in the cadre potential, in the organization of production and in the rational utilization of raw and other materials and energy as well as of work time. Additional potential is harbored in social awareness.

All the actions inspired by the party in the economic field must be accompanied by the conviction that the existing difficulties can definitely and assuredly be overcome. This process has started and is already producing the first results, while further results will be produced by a systematic and consistent introduction of the adopted program.

It would be utopian to believe that a recovery of the economic situation can occur right away and immediately. An instantaneous elimination of irregularities that accumulated over the years and were aggravated during 1980 and 1981 is not possible. This task requires of party members special pertinacity and consistency. Overcoming the society's mood of apathy and distrust in the success of the measures being taken is an indispensable condition.

#### Ways of Strengthening the Economic Mechanisms Must Be Consistently Explored

We have behind us the period of the dominance of emergency measures intended to halt the most acute manifestations of regression. Now is the time to work on a more long-term development strategy of the socialist state, to prepare the program for the country's socio-economic development in the years 1986-1990. Work on this program has already been commenced. Its assumptions will be considered by the National Party Conference and will as well--I believe--become a major plank in the election program, a plane of civic-minded rational discussion.

In many public discussions and private conversation fears are expressed regarding the prospects for this year and the next few years. However, the effectiveness of our economy is not a process that is independent of us and happens outside our views and actions. Economic measures must be supported by and compose a single whole with measures to shape social awareness and civic-minded attitudes. Without that support, theoretical models of solutions would exist in a vacuum. The speaker stated that the subjective-parochial attitude is inimical to the economic reform. Everyone acknowledges the justice of the economic reform so long as it does not hurt him personally. The leadership of the government often receive numerous requests for tax and other exemptions, of which only a few are justified. Many plants try to obtain unjustified privileges instead of exerting effort to become more profitable or utilize better their production potential. Comrade Messner devoted considerable attention to quality problems, stressing that there can be no double standard for quality, one for export and the other for the domestic market. Quality of goods is as important as the price level to the mood of society

But it is obvious, the speaker continued, that commitment and understanding alone will not be enough; if the economy is to stabilize and develop uniformly, an astute and goal-oriented channeling and streamlining of human efforts is needed. It is precisely for this purpose that work on the economic reform, that is, on strengthening the role of economic mechanisms in the functioning of the economy, has been undertaken on an unprecedented scale.

Poland is not the only socialist country to explore more effective ways of enhancing the effectiveness and productivity of labor. The Hungarian economy has longtime and positive experience in implementing the reform. The declarations of the Soviet leadership contain interesting indications of an intensification of the work to make economic mechanisms more influential in the socialist economy. Considerable accomplishments in conserving raw and other materials and energy as well as in organizing the economy have been scored by the German Democratic Republic. Thus, all this experience should be utilized on adapting it to the specifics of Poland's economic situation.

In our country, given the absence of economic stability, the mechanisms of the reform have to be adapted to the actual possibilities. In this connection it should be borne in mind that it was precisely the reform that initiated the indispensable restructuring of the entire economy and the creation of new--in our practice--economic instruments. Although the mechanisms of the reform are not fully functioning or function in a distorted form owing to the current economic disequilibrium, the results achieved are largely due to their application. Hence, ways of strengthening the economic mechanisms should be consistently explored, on modifying them where needed while at the same time hastening the introduction of advantageous processes that are even now producing results. The paramount goal should be to assure the economic equilibrium. For the absence of that equilibrium is the greatest threat to the reform.

Hence, in its program documents, in the 1983-1985 National Socio-Economic Plan and in the yearly plans, the party and state leadership has adopted the strategy of overcoming the crisis by restoring the economic equilibrium. This goal can be attained only by simultaneously influencing all the factors affecting the operation of the economy. The absence of effects on just one

sector would threaten adverse consequences to the entire process. That is why we place such great stress on the necessity of absolute discipline and responsibility for implementing the tasks of the socio-economic plans. The parochial interests of individual plants, branches or social groups must give way to appreciating the national interest as the supreme value.

A condition for the success of the adopted strategy is maintaining the growth rate of production. Last year's results were achieved despite a marked decline in the imports of producer goods from the capitalist countries owing to the West's economic sanctions. This points to the economy's considerable ability to adapt itself to changed operating conditions. At the same time it should be borne in mind that these results were achieved chiefly by exploiting the immediately available potential, by introducing elementary order into the national economy. This realization, on the one hand, sheds light on the range and scope of the latent potential and, on the other, makes its detection and exploitation urgent.

Considerable potential is harbored, for example, in a thrifty and rational utilization of materials, energy and work time.

The next stage of the political and ideological offensive must be integrally combined with streamlining the management of our available capital, which has been built nearly from the scratch in socialist Poland. These tasks acquire a special importance precisely here, in this region which is the nation's industrial center and accounts for 18 percent of the net national product. This is decisive to the scale and possibilities of conservation, which also ensue from the fact that the industry that has grown in this province is characterized by considerable energy- and materials-intensiveness.

#### The Need to Streamline the Wage Policy

To counteract waste, we shall reward those who want and know how to save. To this end, a recent session of the Government Presidium has decided to grant income tax exemptions for the conservation of raw and other materials. Drastic steps to counteract waste will also be taken. But it is hard to imagine that every instance of this kind could be detected and evaluated from the top. Hence, this matter should also be taken up by plant party organizations.

All measures to create a correct wage system that would promote production-oriented attitudes must eliminate such shortcomings as the absence of a correlation between the productivity and quality of labor and the absence of proper proportions among the emoluments of discrete occupational groups. The changes being carried out should not, owing to social considerations, reduce real personal incomes. Thus, the only possible avenue of action is by linking systematic modifications to wage increases. This in its turn unleashes inflation with all its negative consequences. Hence, preference has to be given to preparing and introducing experimental solutions that do not resolve the problem entirely at the moment but serve to test component parts of the system in the specific conditions of selected work establishments. Another prerequisite for an autonomous plant wage policy is proper labor norms. Thus, if we want to rationalize the wage policy, we must at the same time accept constraints on too rapid a growth in incomes.

For one of the expected effects of the new wage systems is to be the streamlining of employment and the evolution of a proper ratio between workers employed directly in production and non-production workers. This is important, particularly in Katowice Province with its manpower shortages.

New price principles must be sanctioned by agreements among trade-union organizations, worker self-government and plant management. The role of party organizations reduces chiefly to making sure that these agreements would be in accord with national interest and would not be overshadowed by parochial and branch interests. Also of importance will be the party's evaluation of the planned effects, and especially of the labor-wage ratios.

Our aim was and remains a fuller utilization of the possibilities for economic integration within the framework of CEMA and the expansion of every kind of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is a priority task to promote party contacts with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other parties of the fraternal countries.

Our traditional friendship with the socialist countries is becoming particularly important in the present international situation. The deployment of American missiles with nuclear warheads in Europe has magnified the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The Polish Government invariably speaks in the defense of peace on international forums. This is our historical right, and our moral duty as well.

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and personally First Secretary comrade Jaruzelski have empowered me to convey to you their cordial thanks for your accomplishments in party work, for your political inspiration of the province's achievements, for your commitment in implementing the party program outlined at the 9th Extraordinary Congress.

Comrade Messner further asked the delegates to convey thanks also to the party activists absent from the auditorium. The speaker also thanked his co-workers from the period when he had exercised the duties of First Secretary of the Katowice Province PZPR Committee.

#### First Secretary's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 pp 3-4

[Program report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, presented by Bogumil Ferensztajn, First Secretary of the Province Committee: "Striding on the Path of the 9th Congress We Have Overcome Many Obstacles--New Tasks Are Facing Us"]

[Text] The period that has elapsed since the memorable 17th Province Programs-Elections Conference in June 1981 has been exceptional. It cannot be measured by an ordinary yardstick. It has to be measured by special criteria. For never before had so much happened within such a short period in the history of People's Poland and the Polish United Workers Party, never before had the party been attacked so fiercely and brutally. The events and the tense situation required taking portentous and extraordinary decisions.

One of such decisions was to convene the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party. This Congress proved to be an historic event. It halted the danger of a schism within the party, created the conditions for rebuilding its ideological unity and stimulated party members toward energetic and specific activism. The criticism and self-criticism expressed at the Congress made the party credible and demonstrated to the entire nation that the party is capable of working out a program for effectively overcoming the severest economic crisis ever in Poland. Lastly, the 9th Congress provided all those who came to the aid of socialist renewal with a powerful weapon for cobatting its enemies.

The portentous resolutions of the Extraordinary Party Congress did point explicitly and convincingly to the path for repairing past mistakes and emerging from the crisis but could not be immediately translated into reality consistently and fully. Right after the Congress, our enemies, who rapidly grasped the validity of the assessments and political solutions formulated by the Congress, launched a sharp attack against the program created by the party. Even more ferociously they attacked the structures of the state and dismantled the national economy. Availing themselves of the help of foreign anti-communist centers, they sowed anarchy and chaos. This resulted in a decrease in production, decline in social discipline and labor productivity, unjustified wage increases, disintegration of the domestic market and nearly total disruption of the bonds linking our economy to foreign partners. Poland stood on the brink of catastrophe.

The nation was saved from the tragedy by our party. Its members, wearing military uniforms, hastened to the aid of the socialist state. Supported by the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service, the loyal party aktiv with its devotion to the cause as well as all the forces supporting socialism halted the destructive activities of the counter-revolution. They introduced law and order. Peace began to reign on the streets and in work establishments.

In our province the first days of the martial law were difficult. To this day we remember with bitterness the events in Wujek Mine. The painful examples of those who died warn against the consequences of national discord and political blindness. We remember the dramatic events in the Katowice Iron and Steel Plant and in the Tychy mines where it was but one step away from tragedy. Now peace and a normal rhythm of work have returned to the province. The economy has begun to gain breathing space--at first chiefly owing to the good, solid and sacrificial work of miners.

We Consistently Implement the Line of Struggle, National Accord and Reforms

The road toward the normalization and stabilization of life was and is neither easy nor simple. It was and is strewn with obstacles. But our party strides tenaciously toward the appointed goal and persistently implements the just line of struggle, national accord and reforms.

The progress in this field is not yet satisfactory but already tangible. In our region the front of support for the policy of the Military Council for National Salvation has grown. At first it had rallied round Citizens' Committees and subsequently within the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It has acquired such a scale that, a year after the martial law was introduced, the conditions for suspending and, as of last July, abolishing it arose.

Every month that passed since then has brought further improvements in the performance of the economy, which was and is, among other things, to the credit of the party's growing activism as well as of the growing support from the allied political parties and the renascent trade-union and self-government movement.

The favorable atmosphere that arose during the period under discussion in our industrial region has promoted the recovery of the activist ability of the party elements, particularly in large work establishments and wherever, during the period of the enemy's offensive, the party had been markedly weakened ideologically, politically and organizationally. People's councils and representative, administrative and economic structures also have gained in strength, so that the complex organism of our regions could perform with growing efficiency.

The foe's hopes to destabilize the social mood and cause unrest and conflicts and thus also disrupt normal operations of the workforces were not fulfilled. On the contrary, the bond between the party and the society is becoming steadily stronger, and the party's authority and influence on the transformations occurring in our region are growing. People are slowly getting convinced about us and they value the fact that we remain faithful to the line, formulated by the 9th Congress, of combatting the enemy and reaching accord with all those who care about Poland's wellbeing, and reforming our lives so that the mistakes and distortions would never again be repeated.

The party in Katowice Province has emerged successfully from its severest ordeal. It succeeded in defending itself against the foe's attacks. It has been present wherever it was needed. This has produced tangible results. The success of our activities continues to hinge on our day-by-day activism. We all must improve our performance still further, act more wisely and effectively, consistently support the party's program line and inspire, control and above all unremittingly act directly among the working class, which is the principal motive power of our province party organization.

Since August 1980 our membership declined by 125,000, that is, by 32 percent. However, an important consequence of this decline was the consolidation of the party. Most of those who left it were the weakest, least resistant ones, accidental people.

Today the problem of the proper development and expansion of the party should be among the most important tasks. This does not mean that we want to return to bad old methods, set selection limits, etc. We remember how much harm has this practice caused in the past.

During the term of office now ending, about 2,400 persons joined the party; last year alone, 1,600 candidate members were admitted, mostly workers and young people. This is a substantial figure in view of the present situation, the critical observation to which party members are exposed in many communities and the high requirements and expectations associated with joining our ranks. In such a situation, every person who joins our party makes a highly responsible political decision which means a deliberate acceptance of difficult and additional obligations and an unequivocal declaration of support for socialism.

We face the task of winning over young people who distinguish themselves in their communities by deep idealism, honesty and industriousness. We cannot passively wait for them to come to us. Gaining good people means at the same time shutting the door to careerists and political adventurers.

Another condition for a successful implementation of party policy is the proper deployment of the party's forces in accordance with class criteria and proportionately to the importance of discrete domains of social and economic life.

The class whose historical interests are expressed by our party, from which it draws on political inspiration and strength to struggle for socialism, and which is to it the most important base, is in our province the working class. We are convinced more than ever before of the validity of this truth. The events of recent years have proved yet again that power belongs to those who exercise political leadership within large worker communities.

But while we place special emphasis on large worker communities, we should not, of course, ignore other less numerous but politically important milieux. The party's influence should not be neglected among both the engineer and humanist intelligentsia, among scientists, teachers, journalists, cultural activists and artists.

#### The Style and Methods of Party Work Have To Be Further Improved

An important element of effective action by the party is strengthening democratic centralism and interpreting it properly. In the past, neglect of this factor had been a major cause of the party's weakness. That is why it is necessary to adhere to Leninist norms of intra-party life, adhere to the publicity and collegiality of the decisions taken, and listen to and never disregard the opinion of working people.

Much depends in this respect on our cadres, on the workers of the party apparatus. During the new term of office of the province party echelon this apparatus has to be further refined and mostly with experienced and energetic persons who have high ideological-political, moral and professional qualifications. Emulating the initial years of activity of our party, reliance should also be placed on the broad volunteer aktiv.

The style and methods of party work require unremitting improvement and innovations. For there still exist party elements whose intra-party life is of a formal and occasional nature, which perform inefficiently, whose discipline leaves something to be desired, and in which old bad fossilized habits are reviving.

Of basic importance will be spurring the activism of the lowest elements. This includes rebuilding party groups, reviving the work of many branch and basic party organizations, and enhancing the role of their meetings. There is a need for resuming person-to-person talks and assigning realistic tasks to party members and making them accountable for their implementation. There is a need for a more rapid rebuilding of the size of our aktiv membership and a better selection of the primary tasks to be undertaken. The internal life of

our party must pulse with ideological wealth of its contents and diversity of its forms, thereby also it must creatively and effectively influence the pace of the transformations occurring in the awareness of working people. The statute of the Marxist-Leninist party requires of every member that he be a leader at his workplace and place of residence, that he achieve above-average results in his work. Personal example is the best form of building the authority of the entire party through one's own attitude. Let us remember this. Let us bear this in mind always and everywhere.

We face many unusually hard tasks and a difficult road. These tasks are primarily: emergence from the [economic] crisis, total rebuilding of the trust of the working people in the party and its political line, an effective application of the economic reform, and overcoming mistakes and steering the country toward a distortion-free current of socialist development.

These tasks cannot be accomplished by the party alone. They require rallying round its program all those Poles who feel close to socialism and cherish the fatherland. Hence the obvious requirement of broadening and deepening the work with non-party members and providing a new impetus and inspiration for action to the party members active in people's councils, social and youth organizations, trade unions, self-government elements and, lastly, places of residence.

We are democratizing our socio-political life. This is reflected in, among other things, broad access to power for representatives of all the communities of working people. The will to persist in this direction was affirmed by the decisions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

On the path of strengthening the socialist democracy we have scored significant accomplishments and gained much good experience. In our region the cooperation between the Polish United Workers Party and the United Peasant Party as well as the Democratic Party is developing successfully, not only at the province level but also in cities and gminas [parishes]. Specific and realistic programs have been drafted for such fields as agriculture, services, health care, education, construction, and the artisan trades.

An important political element of this cooperation within the bloc constituted by the party and its political ally parties has been the joint decisions they made, including important cadre decisions that allow for the participation of non-party members in the organs of the authorities. The party's cadre policy is the key to a proper system of the exercise of power that gains public acceptance.

At many meetings and conferences it was pointed out that it is precisely the managerial cadre that bears a special responsibility for the performance of every institution and enterprise. It is this cadre that fundamentally influences the organization, atmosphere and results of work. Universal criticism was directed against that part of the cadre which concerns itself with purely professional matters and neglects its duty of political activism and forgets the socialist nature of the enterprise or institution which it manages. Such attitudes are unacceptable. The party has the right and duty of demanding of the managerial cadre appointed to posts on its recommendation that it consistently implement party resolutions and display deep political commitment.

The "Main Assumptions of the Cadre Policy of the PZPR," adopted at the 13th Central Committee Plenum pursuant to the recommendations of the 9th Congress, has become a document restoring Leninist principles and norms to this domain of party activity. This document obligates us all.

Control of cadre policy is an important and indispensable obligation of all party echelons and organizations. It is precisely this control that should safeguard that individuals assigned by the party to responsible posts would enjoy high authority and respect.

One has to be aware that there also exist many capable non-party members who know how to build bridges of trust in the socialist system. This is demonstrated by the activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which is a direct outgrowth of the political line of the 9th Congress, of the line of national accord among Poles on issues that matter most to us. The PRON associates active people who are desirous of halting the moods of waiting and apathy, who desire to propagate ideas of the organic work needed to overcome the consequences of the crisis more rapidly.

These activities are of tremendous importance not just to the present but to the future. They shape positive civic attitudes, which are so greatly needed for rallying the society round difficult and complex problems. The positive transformations occurring in social awareness are largely to the credit of party members who also are active in PRON elements and various kinds of social organizations and associations. The PRON's political support remains an urgent and important task.

An essential component part of the system of socialist democracy is the trade unions and worker self-governments. The renascent trade unions in our province already have a membership of nearly 650,000, accounting for 44.5 percent of employment in the province plus pensioners. The growth of the trade unions demonstrates how needed they are by the working people. The party attaches importance to the class nature of these unions, to their good performance as reflected in resolute, authentic and consistent concern for worker interests.

But if these unions are to display the proper political orientation, the initiators of this movement must be provided with every assistance by the party. Our aim should be that trade unions would operate in every plant. Building up the authority of trade unions is at present our primary duty and the participation of all party members in their activities is indispensable. The position of the 10th Central Committee Plenum on this matter is unequivocal.

The need to exert a greater political influence on worker self-governments also is obvious. The establishment of these self-governments wherever applicable under the decree should be attended to. In our province 1,114 self-governments can operate under the law, but so far only 750 actually exist. Party organizations and the management at the plants at which self-governments still do not operate should perform a self-critical assessment and assure the implementation of the party's decisions.

Strong trade unions and a strong worker self-government provide the safeguards for a systematic improvement in the working and living conditions of the workforces as well as for the proper application of the economic reform.

The party firmly stands guard over the principles of social justice and it shall not stray from this fundamental issue. People write us and come to us about their grievances and complaints, and we never ignore them.

The number of such letters is growing. During the term of office now ending party echelons received nearly 20,000 letters, and more than 30,000 citizens came to us personally to share with us their comments and problems. In this field it would be difficult to obtain a better proof of the growth of trust in the party.

#### Closer to the Troubles and Problems of Working People

It is quite proper that party echelons attach great importance to strengthening bonds with people and desire to be close to their personal problems. One of the plenary sessions of the Province Committee was devoted precisely to this topic.

Pursuant to the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum, new forms of contact between party echelons and working people have been developed. The Province Committee has established its Intervention Team, regular meetings between workforces and representatives of party and state leadership are held in larger work establishments and Province Committee and Central Committee members talk with people directly at their workstations.

This closeness to the problems and troubles of working people should be continued and broadened. The presence of members of the party authorities at all levels among the people brings the party closer to life itself and prevents activists from becoming isolated from society's rationales, desires and wishes. The principles mandatory within party echelons should be made universal and useful experience should be emulated in the practice of the administration and cooperatives. This is a specific task posed to the party organizations active at every enterprise and institution.

Law and order are a major prerequisite for strengthening trust in the authorities. Creating the foundations for living in peace and obeying the laws has required considerable effort and effective measures on the part of the Security Service, the Militia, the procurature, and the civil and military judicial system.

Despite the tranquility reigning nowadays, allowance has to be made for possible propaganda drives inspired abroad and exploiting nearly every manifestation of social discontent and frustration. Hence the need for continued operational action by the Security Service. The entire party-political aktiv is required to display vigilance and intensify and develop varied forms of combatting hostile propaganda and diversionary ideological activities.

An equally acute and inexorable struggle should be waged against all evils, against speculators, bribe-takers and parasites who insult the feeling of social justice, and also against perpetrators of economic abuses and crimes.

Persons enriching themselves at the expense of others should be persecuted to the fullest extent of the law. Here no mercy should be given.

We have entered upon the 40th year of existence of People's Poland. For many reasons, this is a decisive year to our future. Let us sum up the accomplishments of the entire period of existence of People's Poland freed of capitalism, during which the nation, linking its destinies to socialism, has made considerable advances. At the same time, we are solving crucial economic problems, and in socio-political life activating mechanisms which are to guarantee the permanent development of socialist Poland.

This 40th anniversary year of People's Poland places our party organization under the obligation of spreading the truth about the progress imparted to our society by socialism. Party work must be more vigorous and dynamic in order to convince the society that the future of our nation is inseparably linked to the development and strengthening of socialism--the system of social justice.

Our Katowice party organization does not conduct its activities in a political vacuum. Hostile centers, both domestic and foreign, which eagerly infiltrate our province, attempt to imbue the society with the conviction that the history of these 40 years has been an uninterrupted streak of mistakes and failures. But that is not true. No one can take away from us our real accomplishments, which are evident in everyday life, in our immediate surroundings.

The 12th and 13th PZPR Central Committee plenums, as well as the plenum of our Province Committee last September, stressed forcibly the significance of ideological work, pointing to its importance in shaping the party's present and future face. This was confirmed by the discussion during the past [reports-elections] campaign. That is why at present, in drafting the programs of ideological activity and inspiring it, we guide ourselves by the principle of the unity of ideology, politics and economics.

What matters most is that ideological work should shape active individuals who understand the patterns of social development, are capable of evaluating the processes occurring in this country and abroad, and are conscious members of the Marxist-Leninist party and citizens of the socialist state.

If, however, a party member is to be able to analyze correctly what is happening around him, he has to acquire knowledge and hone the arguments he needs to influence fellow workers at his workplace. Hence also the problems of thorough information-and-propaganda activity assuring a proper idea of the state of the party and knowledge of contemporary events must become a permanent element of the system of work of the province party organization and all its structures.

The province party organization receives strong support from the press, radio and television, whose staffs have in recent years undergone considerable changes in personnel and quality owing to which they perform better their political tasks in relation to the needs and interests of their audiences, as we have observed. The Province Committee must continue to work on a comprehensive model of the functioning of the mass media. On the basis of the accomplishments so far of discrete editorial collectives, but also on the basis of party criticism which does not overlook them, the specific nature of their action must be made still more pointed by linking journalists with large

party organizations in order that the opinion and assessments of the worker community itself can be directly obtained.

The greatest obligations are imposed on the PZPR daily TRYBUNA Robotnicza. It should continue to stress its party-mindedness in three fundamental ways: by keeping its readers informed about the party program, mobilizing the society for the implementation of that program and keeping the party posted about public opinion. It should undertake discussion of such topics as socialist morality, equality and social justice, and the materialist world outlook.

In the whole of the party's political and ideological activities an equally important place is occupied by culture. It awakens and strengthens the feeling of national awareness and national and, at the same time, class identity. Culture should be provided with optimal conditions for growth. In this field the party is resolutely opposed to eliminating culture from work establishments under the guise of the economic reform. This is a huge task to party organizations, the plant management and the trade unions: by becoming active patrons they have to preserve the participation of the working class in culture.

The principal concern of the newly elected officers of the province party echelon should continue to be creating the proper climate for the development of creativity as well as for shaping socially acceptable programs for the growth and spread of culture and linking creative artists to socialism and working people.

Work within the creative community should be continued on the basis of the activities of the party groups among writers, actors, musicians, librarians and booksellers which were established during the now ending term of office of the province party echelon and passed their political test.

A no less important political task is the party's concern for exercising the broadest possible influence through the cultural-educational and political work of mass organizations. The Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship, which has scored significant accomplishments in our region as regards spreading the idea of internationalism, friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of the Soviet Union, should indicate in its work the nature of our alliances serving the nation and safeguarding its future as well as peace in the world. This also concerns the ideological-explanatory work of other organizations such as the LOK [National Defense League], the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], the TWP [Society for the Popularization of Knowledge] and the TKKS [Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture].

In our ideological activities--as emphasized during the reports-elections campaign--we should oppose attempts at clericalization with measures to secularize social life, and, especially among youth, promote a scientific world outlook as well as attitudes of tolerance. There also is a need to oppose--to a greater extent than previously--attempts at anti-socialist activity by the clergy, which must realize that it is bound by the same legal norms as those applied to the secular society.

The life of every party organization should be accompanied by energetic training activities. Within the party there exists a great demand for

knowledge about the nature of Marxism-Leninism, about the social reality, and about economic and political processes and occurrences. The training should mobilize for action and deal with current, actual issues concerning socio-economic matters and knowledge about the party. This can be assisted by promoting the habit of self-teaching through the study of Marxist-Leninist literature and the theory of party work. To a large extent the results will depend on party-training lecturers and instructors, and also on the needs of the audiences and students themselves.

The party's training structures which were rebuilt during the now ending term of office of the party echelons must be developed, in large work establishments as well. The ideological aktiv expects--in accordance with our suggestion--of the leadership of the Central Committee that it soon take a position on the principles for establishing Plant Centers of Ideological-Educational and Cultural Work, because this is the key to improving training work throughout the party and primarily within its worker-based core.

An unusually sensitive barometer of the credibility of our actions is the rising generation. We thus should be aware that the events of recent years have left particularly deep wounds in the attitudes and characters of the young.

It is thus the duty of all us party members to undertake a candid, authentic and sometimes difficult--but necessary--dialogue with youth on the problems of the Poles of the 1980s. As Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski declared at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, "The young have to be struggled for tenaciously and persistently. Nothing is more important than regaining and winning them over to the cause of socialism."

This dialogue can be conducted only in an atmosphere of sincerity, on the principle of equality of rights and duties and co-responsibility for Poland's present and future.

There is work and bread for the young in our Fatherland, there are schools and possibilities for advancement, but nothing comes easy to anyone, including youth. There is no other road toward assuring the wellbeing of the society, and hence also of young people, than industrious and solid labor, conscientious performance of one's duties. Hence, our program must specifically provide room and a chance for the young, because this concerns our common mansion, Poland, for which--in accordance with the laws of nature--one day they will take over the responsibility.

Only by candidly pointing to the concrete realities--because youth has no faith in slogans--will we put an end to the myth of "the lost-chance generation." Here there is room for both energetic activity by the party and the activism of youth organizations. It is up to us all, to the home, to the workplace and to the school, whether youth will be with us. After the war in the 1950s the ardor and enthusiasm of the young had rebuilt the devastated country, erected great construction projects and carried out historic systemic transformations. At present we must create a vision of a Poland that is great on a realistic basis, a Poland that is great owing to its honest, industrious, well-organized labor, without vices and weaknesses. This also means a Poland that is great by the rich content of its humanist, socialist ideas and love

of peace, by its ability to assimilate all that is best in science and culture. It also is up to the adults and the young whether such a rational vision will become reality and assure for our country a worthy place in the world. This is a great chance for spurring the activism of the youth organizations, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP), the Union of Polish Scouts (ZHP) and the Association of Polish Students (ZSP), which we should provide with complete support.

The modern school is an institution of the socialist state, and the party does not give up its right to determine the purposes and programs of national education. We shall never relinquish to the ideological enemy control over the upbringing and education of the rising generation.

The requirements facing the modern school have been spelled out. The "Main Directions and Tasks of the Educational Work of the Schools" have been introduced into school practice in our province. So far this still has not produced measurable effects, but it has tangibly improved the political climate. For education is a protracted process that requires strenuous efforts and consistent, competent and sacrificial work by all participants in the uniform educational front.

An important role in this respect falls due to the party organizations at schools as well as to the the Community Educational Committees that have been set up during the now ending term of office of the province party echelon. Last year these committees became more active, attempting to inspire to an ever greater extent the party's educational policies and monitor their actual implementation.

In our province 38.1 percent of teachers belong to the party and 65 percent to the Union of Polish Teachers. This affords a major chance for exerting political influence. All that is needed is to exploit this chance skillfully. Even greater tasks face the party organizations and members at higher educational institutions. These organizations should be provided with every kind of help during the coming new term of office of the party echelon.

This is a particularly important problem because the role to be fulfilled by science in our life is great. Scientists work on the future needs of society, outline their extent and the possibilities of meeting them and influence greatly what can be done at present to emerge from the economic crisis.

The creation of new values, the concentration of efforts on the principal issues and a competent utilization of research in economic and social practice--such are essentially the tasks of party members at higher educational institutions and research centers.

Our province is endowed with a considerable scientific research potential. Research and development centers should be utilized better than previously to modernize the economy and assure technological progress. This is a fundamental factor in assuring progress. The point is that a coherent economic-legal system should be created to comprise both the application organizations--that is, the enterprises--and the creative organizations, that is, R&D and scientific centers. The political conditions for implementing this system have to be created.

## A Broad Front of Action in the Economy

In the materials provided to you earlier we described our activities in the socio-economic field and the results achieved. Following the proclamation of the martial law the decline in output was halted and, as of April 1982, the lag began to be gradually overcome, first in [coal] with mining, which resulted in favorable changes in the power industry and provided hard-currency revenues from exports, and subsequently also in the metallurgical, light, electrical equipment and chemical industries.

The results of 1983 revealed a continuation of the positive trends. Compared with 1982, industrial output in comparable prices increased by 8.3 percent and labor productivity by about 9 percent. At the same time, however, mean wages increased by 23 percent. Despite the more rapid increase in the output of the branches directly affecting the supplies of consumer goods, the size of that output is still unsatisfactory. When adjusted for the price movements, the output figures of our industry, while considerably better than in 1982, still remained more than 4 percent below the 1979 indicators.

The continuing progress in many domains and fields of the economy cannot overshadow negative phenomena. Mention should be made here of the insufficient progress in linking wages to production results and the absence of any significant improvement in the utilization of work time as well as in streamlining employment which, given the shrinking manpower resources in not only our province, is of special significance. We must bear in mind these trends when drafting a program of action for our new term of office.

The positive economic trends in the province have been fundamentally influenced by the coal industry. Miners extracted 188 million tons of coal in the province. To maintain this level of coal extraction, not only the work to build new mines commenced in the 1970s should be continued but also the main emphasis at present should be placed on expanding and modernizing the existing extractive facilities.

The ongoing depletion of seams necessitates extracting coal at increasingly deeper levels at which extracting conditions are increasingly more difficult. This requires the application of improved extraction techniques and methods and at the same time it necessitates greater concern for the safety and health of miners as well as for minimizing the adverse consequences of mining development. This is hardly an easy task but both scientists and designers and the entire technical personnel of the mines must cope with it. In addition, the problem of coal conservation is particularly acute. We all in this country must respect coal. We expect of scientists and engineers that they will come to the aid of miners and propose effective solutions in this respect.

A cardinal task of the region's entire industry, a task facing us, is the streamlining of management and cost reduction. Effectiveness and cost are the keys to the accomplishment of the strategic objectives of our economy, the road toward the solution of our present and future problems. Concern for these two elements of effective management should demonstrate the commitment of those working on them in the Katowice region.

Despite the efforts of the workforces it was not possible in 1983 to regain the pre-crisis level of output for most metallurgical products. Given the current level of availability of raw and other materials as well as the marked employment shortages, new initiatives should be taken by party and worker government organizations as well as the management at metallurgical plants so as to increase output to maximum levels without increasing supplies of raw and other materials and expanding the workforce.

At present it seems to us that the only way to make work less arduous and protect the environment as well as improve the quality of metallurgical products lies in the practical application of a long-range program for modernizing our metallurgical industry.

Other industrial subsectors also operate under similar difficult conditions. The plant programs for overcoming the crisis that have been inspired by the party organizations are beginning to produce tangible results.

These results could have been much better had not it been for the sanctions applied against our economy by the United States and its allies. These sanctions have adversely affected the performance of the electrical equipment and chemical industries and, what is particularly important, the output of the consumer goods industry.

Upon the initiative of the party, domestic potential and possibilities were exploited and closer cooperation was commenced with the socialist countries and primarily with the Soviet Union.

We value highly the friendly assistance of the Soviet comrades; it is valued by the workforces of the plants which without that assistance would have faced temporary shutdowns. But we realize that not all the possibilities have yet been exploited, that there still is a need for exploring new forms of the expansion of economic cooperation with, among others, our sister regions of Donetsk, Halle, Miskolec or Ostrava. But it is necessary to expand markedly the range of goods we can offer for export, assess critically the measures taken so far to stimulate production for export and strive to deepen economic and scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA countries.

When speaking of economic tasks we wish to stress the importance of consumer goods production. Party organizations should evaluate the effectiveness of measures in this field. The degree of utilization of the existing productive capacities should also be continually monitored in plants that manufacture products other than consumer goods but are capable of undertaking the production of these goods. The goal should be that, wherever possible, every enterprise should make consumer goods in addition to its principal type of production.

The industry of Katowice Province is capable of increasing its output of consumer goods which we all need so much nowadays. May the slogan "More consumer goods from Silesia" become a point of departure for new initiatives. Let us glance around. What are we doing currently for the consumers? What can we do for them in the future? Of a certainty there exist possibilities to undertake the needed production of consumer goods without investing any considerable capital, by utilizing the existing facilities and conditions at many work establishments. Our province should supply more consumer goods--and

that is our urgent party goal to be followed when promoting structural changes in the industry of Katowice Province.

The regional possibilities for expanding consumer goods production on the basis of local raw and waste materials still remain incompletely utilized. In this respect, too, party organizations should act as the inspirers of the formation of long-term programs for expanding output activities at local enterprises, in cooperatives, and in the artisan trades.

The quality of a large part of the products manufactured still deviates from the established norms, low as they already are anyway compared with the world standards. The problem of improving production quality should become a basic element of coordinated party and economic measures undertaken by the aktiv and the engineer-technician and management cadres. The system of production quality control also has to be improved.

An increase in the supplies of high-grade consumer goods and services is a factor in measures intended to restrict inflation. Another and no less important factor is a close linkage of the money supply to the production performance of enterprises. This is particularly justified now that new wage principles granting considerable autonomy to individual enterprises are being introduced.

An unjustified rise in the production costs of goods and services is occurring before our eyes. Party price and cost control teams have not, unfortunately, scored signal successes in controlling this rise. Thus these issues should be raised more boldly, the concerned institutions should be prompted to keep a lid on the cost and price levels and these levels should be linked to product quality.

It is a party duty to watch over the consonance between the price policies of enterprises and the national interest.

These issues were completely openly discussed by party members during the reports-elections campaign.

It is a fundamental task of party organizations to exert such political influence that the plans of the enterprises and, especially, their fulfillment would mesh properly the interests of the workforces with public interest and reflect the needs expressed in yearly central and province plans.

The output tasks outlined for this year will be implemented by the region's industry in the presence of continuing restrictions on producer goods. This accounts for the vital importance of plant conservation programs. Numerous good examples have been provided by our work establishments and we must continue to exploit first-hand potential while at the same time, and above all, expanding the rationalization of labor and promoting technological progress.

Lower consumption of raw and other materials and energy, increase in export and consumer goods production, and improvements in product quality--such are nowadays the principal criteria for evaluating the performance of enterprises and their management and party organizations. This will be a practical ex-

pression of the implementation of the resolutions of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The past period confirmed the existence of a prolonged disproportion between the extent of the province's industrial output and the transport capacities. Emergency decisions by the government, prompted by our province's requests, served to somewhat alleviate this problem. However, as output is gradually rising, transport needs will continue to increase. We must thus continue to explore emergency solutions while at the same time inspiring future solutions.

The crisis has affected housing construction in a particularly complex manner. Many building trades workers have left their jobs and the shortages of means of production and materials have worsened. Last year, for the first time in 4 years, the decline in the number of apartments released for occupancy was halted. The realistically determined plan was fulfilled and 20,566 new apartments were released, which is 252 more than in 1982. But the public demand is still tremendous. ①

A positive and cheering fact is that the accomplishments in housing construction were made despite the doubling of the volume of the construction of infrastructure and installation of utilities for housing projects, compared with the previous years. We have made a step forward in this field. We are catching up with the backlog.

But the public expects effective solutions as regards housing construction in the region. Hence in our party work we must support all forms of construction. The renovation of old housing stock should be given the same preferences as the construction of new housing.

The agricultural policy that we have been implementing since 1981 jointly with the United Peasant Party (ZSL) has produced a number of indisputable accomplishments. In our industrial province many party measures were taken following the 9th joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. There is a need for continuing these measures, utilizing farmland more effectively, recultivating the land destroyed by industry and developing livestock raising. Likewise, industry's broad support of agriculture should remain a focus of direct attention to the province echelon and its local elements.

Consumer goods supplies hinge on agriculture as well as on the processing industry. In this latter field our situation is difficult and much still remains to be done. We again pose this task as one of the most difficult to accomplish during the new term of office of the province party echelon.

We view our current party activities in the economic sphere through the prism of a broadly conceived reform of our economy. These problems have been--particularly after the 8th and 10th PZPR Central Committee plenums--assigned priority importance in party work.

We have been exerting considerable effort to popularize economic problems among party members, worker self-governments and trade-union activists and plant workforces. Conditions have been created for familiarizing the managerial cadre with the reform's principles. Issues of production, quality,

production cost and organizational efficiency at enterprises have become much closer to party members and workforces.

Today, 2 years after the reform first began to be applied, we confirm the validity of its fundamental solutions. However, the effectiveness with which it is applied differs depending on the nature of individual enterprises and the commitment of their managerial personnel, worker self-governments and party organizations.

Observations of the results of the application of the reform in this province, assessments, analyses, broad consultations and the recommendations of party echelons and plant organizations have led us to formulate a number of proposals for systemic changes. It is worth noting that part of our proposals and comments has been considered in the revisions made in the reform.

But there still is a continuing need to mobilize all party members for the application of reform solutions and elevation of economic knowledge.

The point is that everyone should understand that the reform is not a one-time measure but lasting and necessary changes in conditions of management. Attempts to "wait out," so to speak, the reform are doomed.

Currently it is an urgent task to popularize the nature of the revisions in specific solutions envisaged for 1984. Such topics should become a plane of broad party discussion, at open meetings, at forums of trade-union and youth organizations and at workforce meetings.

#### With the Idea of Improving the Living Conditions of the Society

In the materials provided to the delegates we also presented the measures taken by the party and their results as regards improving the living conditions of our province population.

Ours is a province with specific features. The longtime disproportions existing in the implementation of industrial investments as well as in technical and social infrastructure, coupled with the considerable concentration of industry--in our province--affect the scale of the problems facing the province's authorities and population.

Environmental pollution that greatly exceeds the permissible limits, a large number of obsolete industrial plants, uniquely great adverse consequences of mining damage, shortages of potable water, shortages of housing and developed land for new construction, and the still inefficient transport system--such are our principal problems. Combined with underinvestment in the social infrastructure and a high population density, these problems result in difficult living and working conditions.

We have been actively working on these matters throughout the entire now expiring term of office of the province party echelon. But when assessing our accomplishments in this field, allowance has to be made for the relatively short period of time, insufficient for carrying out radical changes, as well as for the current possibilities of the economy.

We can honestly declare today that, given the difficult conditions in which we have had to operate, jointly with the state administration and in the presence of support of our initiatives by the central authorities, much has been accomplished to alleviate the vexations of life in the province.

Work on the water supply has been commenced and the construction or modernization of many heating and municipal service facilities has been undertaken. Work is under way on modernizing the transit, road and rail systems. We have produced tangible results in building preschools, schools, nurseries, hospitals and health service clinics.

The Resolution No 132 of the Council of Ministers provides the legal foundations and a virtually historic chance for repairing longtime neglect. But this requires effort and continued joint work.

The new party authorities to be elected must consistently continue the work to improve the living conditions of the province's population. We perceive a need for organizational changes in the performance of trade, improvements in the supplies of consumer goods and an improved quality of services and their better adaptation to the needs of the province. In this respect, new solutions have to be applied more boldly and the opinions and suggestions of the public as well as public initiative should be utilized more constructively. In addition, individuals who display incompetence and are responsible for shortcomings should be made accountable.

It is our great party duty to create in this province a climate in which all tasks intended to improve the living conditions of the population would be implemented tenaciously, rapidly and consistently. The concern for man, for the everyday problems of the people--such is the basic party task.

We are deliberating here on a day when exactly 39 years ago, following the liberation of Katowice from the Hitlerite occupation by the Red Army, building the foundations of the people's state was commenced in our region. In those months so difficult to the entire country, the Silesian mines and steel plants started operating and providing our nation's devastated economy with such greatly needed products as coal, steel and others. Those present with us today in this auditorium as delegates and invited guests include witnesses of those days.

It is they--today the veterans of struggle and labor--who had then headed the organizers of socio-political and economic life on free Silesian land, it is they who faced a difficult test. And they passed that test, demonstrating their patriotism and wisdom in life. They rendered great services to our party and socialist state.

We also esteem and value them for the fact that many of them still are actively working and, by virtue of their vast experience in party work and the unquestioned and solid respect and authority they enjoy in the society, they account for the prestige of many party organizations and determine the atmosphere and political climate among quite broad circles of the public. Dear comrades, we know that we can continue to count on you.

We value your activities in party work, in local self-governments and in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] elements as well as in other social

organizations. We have repeatedly expressed our appreciation during various meetings with worker-movement activists. We also are aware that not all of your proposals and postulates have been acted upon, and many of them have to be considered at the central level. In everyday party work it should always be borne in mind that it was precisely these comrades who had, during the years of severest ordeal to the party, exerted much toil and displayed much concern for its ideological appearance. And while our efforts in their behalf are not always crowned with material success, measures to honor morally and socially the veterans of struggle and labor active in our province party organization are just as valuable.

With today's 18th Conference our province party organization culminates the reports-elections campaign within all its elements. The efficient conduct of this great campaign within a comparatively brief period of time demonstrates that the Katowice Province PZPR organization has proved its cohesiveness, ideological unity and political maturity. We view the campaign in Katowice Province as fruitful, and this is to the credit of all party members. For this, here I ardently thank all.

We face new complex tasks, including a great party battle--the elections to people's councils. These tasks will be accomplished under difficult conditions. The international situation in recent months has become exceptionally exacerbated. Ever since the end of World War II peace has never been as precarious as now. Hence we must struggle to preserve it more determinedly than ever, because only in the presence of peace can we develop our country and advance the building of socialism.

We believe that we shall succeed in preventing an international armed confrontation. For we are not alone in our struggle for peace. We have reliable allies in the countries of the socialist community, particularly in the Soviet Union, whose peaceful initiatives prove that the socialist bloc does not desire war but is interested in disarmament and restricting the dangerous consequences of international tension. We support wholly the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and its communist party, and declare our solidarity with the fraternal countries of the Land of the Soviets in our common struggle for peace, for socialism, for life.

We have devoted allies in our nearest neighbors, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, as well as in the other countries of the socialist community whose nations and parties have more than once assisted us in difficult moments and continue to assist us actively.

The Province Committee in its present make-up is ending its term of office. That was a difficult and at times a dramatic period. Our path was strewn with many obstacles--hence also we sometimes stumbled.

On behalf of the departing members of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, I wish today to thank cordially all those party members who, while not sparing critical comments, rallied round the Province Committee and actively supported its activities.

I would also like to thank cordially and ardently the working people of Katowice Province for their attitude and industrious labor during those years, difficult to us all, of the old term of office.

Under the stewardship of the new authorities of the province party organization whom we will elect today, we shall implement the line of the 9th Congress and the new program of the province party organization, for the good of the party and for the good of the region and socialist Poland.

#### Jerzy Romanik's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 5

[Speech of Jerzy Romanik, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee: "Regaining the Trust of the Working Class Will Hasten Overcoming the Crisis"]

[Text] The number and depth of our crises as well as the enemy's skillful activities have to a large extent demolished the trust of Poles in the authorities, in the system and even in the system of society. The devastation also affected the party. One should not cherish illusions about this or hope for rapid improvements in this field. For we still stand at the beginning of the road. The worst stage is over, but now the most difficult stage has begun.

It is fairly easy to win trust but much more difficult to regain it after losing it. The absence of trust results in indifference, lack of commitment, and passive attitudes and, as a consequence, in huge and measurable economic, social and political losses. That is why the problem is so important.

The Province Reports-Elections Conference should take a position on this matter, too. Greater progress in regaining the confidence of, especially, the working class would--I believe--hasten greatly overcoming the crisis. This dependence should be obvious to everyone. In my opinion, the principal reason for the problem with regaining trust is that it unfortunately depends not only on rational but also on irrational factors.

Hence also many logical measures of the authorities do not receive sufficient credit in social awareness which at the same time is excessively focused on those measures which are unpopular but necessary if only because dictated by the laws of economics.

The causes of the lack of social activism are traceable to two groups of factors:

First, people fail to perceive the relationship between the causes of their personal situation and the functioning of societal life. Unfortunately, we have not been very successful in educating the public about economics, as well as in elevating its political culture and transforming its social awareness in the spirit of socialism. These tasks absolutely have to be undertaken during the new term of office of the province party echelon, and implemented more effectively than until now.

Secondly, there is the feeling of powerlessness so far as influencing the life of society is concerned, the feeling of lack of control. How often it still happens that people discuss problems--and repeat the same things over and over again--at, say, party meetings, without anything being done about them.

Either no one attends to them or they are solved inconsistently. Then people get discouraged, grow silent and lose their willingness to be more active in the future.

Such mistakes will not be eliminated by the Central Committee's instructions on ways of implementing recommendations and postulates. What is needed here is a change in attitude on the part of many party activists. For it cannot be expected either that people can be made to feel satisfied without taking under consideration their individual traits. And in this respect the forms of our party work are still too inadequate, insufficiently differentiated. Often they are limited to very formalistically and bureaucratically treated party tasks. At times it seems to me that the force of inertia of the previous model of the exercise of power or of the functioning of the party is greater than that desire for renewal which has been expressed by many activists--often as mere lip service. Indolence, conservatism, formalism, conformism and pragmatism [as published] are not easily gotten rid of, at any level whatsoever at that.

Many people speak of the need to repair the party's bonds with the masses, to regain its trust, authority and positions. But do they all mean the same thing?

What is the problem when so posed?

Does this concern regaining the position held by the party in the 1970s, that is, its ability to direct and command? To make everyone obey us in everything? The universal answer would be that this is not the issue. But one has the irresistible impression that to many people this precisely is the issue. For inasmuch as we are the ruling party and since we have democratic centralism and dictatorship of the proletariat, and inasmuch as others can and do it, therefore we too can and do it, and so forth.

Representing the party's leading role by its members also has to be learned. What is a party member to do as a member of a worker self-government, a trade union or the PRON or some other social organization? What forms and methods of party work should be applied in this case to make his influence effective?

A fundamental prerequisite for the party's recovery of its bonds with the masses, for its recovery of trust, authority and positions, is the organizational and ideological-political unity of the party itself, although party members also are part of the society.

It simply is not possible for every party member to be the party in himself. In this respect we may observe a vicious circle consisting in that the basic party organizations are not fulfilling effectively their role, because they get no support, acceptance or trust from the workforce, while the workforces do not grant them support, acceptance or trust because they often they have no reason to do so. Is it possible to speak of trust in the party as a whole, in its program and political line, at work establishments?

The majority of people simply are not aware of our concerns, either because they do not know enough or because for various reasons they do not want to know. They may or may not trust individuals who are party activists and provide a shining example. But that trust is overshadowed by the burden of mistrust in the party as the cause--in the opinion of many people--of the

crises, as the culprit responsible for all the vexations of everyday life. How often one hears, "It's you who govern thus." Thus this trust is relative. In many people emotional trust in Solidarity still lingers, and since it is emotional it is difficult to combat with the aid of rational arguments.

At any rate, greater attention should be paid to the emotional aspects of the concept of trust, and solutions should be explored in that plane too. Trust has in it something of an uncritical faith and is not very amenable to logical analysis. By way of an example, let me quote one little word from the year 1970: "Pomozecie?" [Will you help?]. It was an affective word that had resounded throughout the country, although now it is ridiculed.

Building trust, "brick upon brick," is difficult because in politics these "bricks" would all have to meet with a positive response in the mind of the public, whereas, as known, a politician must also sometimes make difficult and unpopular decisions that are hard to accept by major segments of the society. In our conditions such decisions are necessitated by objective reasons--owing to the state of the national economy or owing to the still existing social conflicts. What is more, a politician not only has to make difficult decisions but also has to convince the society that no other solutions are possible. Only then it is possible to liberate the society's energy in order to eliminate the causes that necessitated these difficult decisions. Only then will difficult decisions become an instrument for improving life. On the other hand, such decisions should never be regarded as an end in itself.

It appears that rallying the public round the party's long-range program whose theses will soon be learned by the National Conference of Delegates affords a chance for regaining the trust of at least the greater part of the society, and this chance should be utilized.

Dear Comrades!

Workers always preferred and prefer to consider all issues in clear, legible and simple terms that are understood by everyone because they have been verified at work and in everyday life. A consistent translation into reality of the class reign of the working class in every domain should be the best way of regaining its trust. In conclusion, I wish to try to formulate ten commandments, so to speak, which if followed would--in my opinion--markedly accelerate the process of regaining the trust of the society.

--We should implement consistently and fully all our declarations--particularly after August 1980, and formulate perspectives for the future as well.

--Implementing a proper cadre policy is highly important. In this field there can be no return to old mistakes, whether at the top or at the bottom.

--Priority must be given to implementing the principle of social justice. It is precisely to this, almost more than to anything else, that workers are so sensitive.

--We must consult the society about the drafts of certain decisions, in such a manner that it would finally believe that it indeed exercises an influence on the government. This is linked to the art of knowing how to listen to people. There should be no room for high-handed decisions made from behind a desk as

to whether people are right or wrong. The party's service role can no longer ever again be an empty slogan.

--The society should be kept broadly informed. Only truth and sincerity are authentically valued. There should be no provision of one-sided information, no suppression of inconvenient facts that is tantamount to abandoning the field to hostile propaganda.

--The economic reform, inclusive of reform of the organs of economic management, should be consistently continued. This would concern, among other things, attaching proper importance to worker self-government at every work establishment, restoring the incentive function of wages, strengthening the zloty and so on.

--The state's might and strength should be demonstrated in accordance with the principle, "No one is outside or above the law." All manifestations of societal pathology should be combatted.

--We should treat the problem of trade unions very seriously. This is one of the criteria of our credibility.

--Bureaucratic inefficiency should be effectively combatted by reaching the sources of this phenomenon, as should be other vexations in the everyday life of the society.

--Democratic centralism must be a fact; it must function day by day at every level.

In making these recommendations I hardly mean to claim that we are not implementing them. But it all depends on time and place. The struggle to regain trust is a struggle of not only the top, of not only Gen Jaruzelski, but of the entire party and especially of its activists precisely in every place and all the time.

#### Problems Mentioned in Discussion

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28-29 Jan 84 p 6

[Report: "The Course of the Discussion" under the rubric "Eighteenth Katowice Province Reports-Elections Conference"]

[Text] The multi-faceted discussion touched upon all the problems experienced by the party members and inhabitants of Katowice Province. The causes of the existing shortcomings were explored and recommendations were made for further refinement of party work and improvements in the living conditions of the population and the performance of the economy.

#### Belonging to the Party Imposes Certain Duties

The party's ranks already have become strengthened, according to comrade Zdzislaw Kafel, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Olkusz Enamelled Ware Factory. Unfortunately, though, we still are dealing with "8-hour" party members who confine their socio-political activism to their workplace. At their place of residence they are invisible and what is more

sometimes even fawn on our enemies and criticize the party and the government. The present situation requires continuing activism. But whom are workers to emulate, considering that a large part of the cadre remain neutral? The process of purging the party of accidental and ideologically alien people must be a continuing one and the criteria for admission of new members to the party should be tightened.

Speaking in behalf of the members of the PZPR Central Committee from Katowice Province, comrade Zbigniew Hanf presented to the conference a report on the activities of this group both as part of the central authorities and within the province. He said that the inertia in implementing the resolutions of the 9th Congress and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee is alarming. Some comrades could use a shove in the shoulder. He compared the situation in the country to a box with holes which has to be filled. Who is to attend to this but the party members, who are condemned to [the task of] winning society's acceptance for many unpopular decisions. We must rally people round the program for overcoming the crisis and repair the bond with the working class. This must be done by the entire party. Ideological matters also are important; the boundary line between the competences of the party and the state, on the one hand, and those of the Church must be clearly communicated to every party member.

Consistency in implementing party resolutions was discussed, among other things, by comrade Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Audit Commission. This is a vital element of democratic centralism. The party's political role is interpreted by the society not so much on the basis of the resolutions themselves as on the basis of the effects of their implementation. Hence, when exploring ways of recovering credibility, mere resolution-making, that is, the adoption of unrealistic resolutions, is to be combatted. The party must thus monitor itself as regards the implementation of its resolutions. It is important that resolutions specifying particular tasks be implemented by every party member. Every assignment, particularly individual assignments, should be so selected that the comrade to whom it is given would be capable of implementing it and derive satisfaction from it.

During the difficult period of the years 1980-1982 we as a party passed a difficult test of political maturity, said comrade Stefan Mozgol, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Pstrowski Mine in Zabrze. The decline in our membership qualitatively strengthened instead of weakening us. For several months now new young members have been joining our plant party organization, claiming convincingly that the party's path is the right path. But there also are some party members who must alter their attitudes. Here the point is not a cadre party but a militant party such as the PZPR used to be at the time of its merger [from the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Worker Party] when, with a membership of 1.5 million, it had succeeded in carrying the nation along.

The discussants devoted much attention to problems of indoctrination and propaganda. Awareness is shaped by, among other things, properly conducted ideological-upbringing work. An instrument for refining that work should be the plant centers of ideological-upbringing work whose reactivation proceeds at too slow a pace. A similar role could be fulfilled by plant radio stations. But these important tasks should be entrusted to experts, e.g. graduates of the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS), Department of Social Sciences,

rather than to amateurs. Comrade Ryszard Korzeniewski, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Borynia Mine in Jastrzebie, declared that advances were achieved in developing the awareness of party members. But there is a need for a more resolute awakening of the awareness of non-party workers and extending education to them, because so far they are being educated by Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and "blotting paper" [underground leaflets and periodicals] smuggled in by centers of the opposition.

### The Stake is the Country's Future

One of the most important directions of the party's activity is the work with youth. The stake here is the country's future. The implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum continues. But this process is neither easy nor rapid, said Ryszard Bober, stope operator at the Chwalowice Mine in Rybnik. The methods of working with youth must allow for the fact that the young are naturally inclined toward independence in cognizing reality and evaluating it, that they approach imposed, ready-made solutions mistrustfully and reluctantly. For the most durable convictions are those reached independently through study, sharp discussion and the clash of many views. This also develops the ability to evaluate and criticize the views foisted by the political enemy. Political influence should be exerted on young people on the basis of a coherent system of a united educational front. At the same time, young people should be made aware that their youth alone is not a magic key opening the doors to advancement and to the possibility of decisionmaking. Such possibility can be gained by acquiring knowledge and displaying personal commitment.

Comrade Elzbieta Kaszuba, deputy director of Elementary School No 13 in Dabrowa Gornicza, offered the reminder that youth must feel co-responsible for the country. It must be attracted to work in representative organs of power, in self-governments. One of the conditions for preventing the aging of the party is the teaching of the methods of party work, including work with youth. Youth organizations should act more consistently. The Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) must be a responsible partner of the party.

The evaluations of youth movement in the conference materials and report were positive. But, comrade Jaroslaw Klima, chairman of the ZSMP Province Board, said, our tasks are even greater. The current situation of the country and the educational lag cause frustration, influence the attitudes of youth and are adversely reflected in its activism. At the same time, the instruments for spurring the activism of the rising generation are hardly effective. However, many ZSMP elements are attempting to overcome the apathy. This could be promoted by, e.g. speeding up the implementation of the Parliament's program for housing construction. World issues, the threat to peace, also are not indifferent to youth. ZSMP members have proposed the idea of convening the Province Committee of Defenders of Peace, which was already submitted to the Province PRON Council and the province's political authorities.

The events of recent years have caused the system of upbringing at higher schools to misplace the hopes vested in it. It has been defective, ridden with declaration-making and divorced from reality. This has also largely been due to defects in two other functions exercised by higher schools: research and instruction. For all these three functions are an integral whole. This is a reality that cannot be accepted by the party, according to comrade Maciej

Sedzimir Klimaszewski, president of Silesian University. These shortcomings will burden higher-school graduates all their life long. Hence also there is a need for assistance from all party organizations and echelons in order to improve the bad situation in higher education. Revisions of certain provisions of the decree on higher education are indispensable, e.g. those concerning the possibility of a proper selection of the research and teaching personnel.

Comrade Boguslaw Kabala, director of the Academic Lyceum imienia St. Staszica in Sosnowiec, also voiced concern about a teaching cadre that would be adequate to the purposes of socialist education. The task of teachers is to lead youth toward the future, and it should be borne in mind that teachers still face the consequences of the crisis. Antagonisms have been transmitted from the world of adults to the world of children and youth. Hence also every teacher should bear in mind that he is also a mentor and guide, and any teacher who does not grasp this cannot be a teacher.

Speaking of cultural matters, comrade Augustyn Dyrda, a sculptor from Katowice, recalled that norms and models of social behavior also are shaped by culture in the broad meaning of the word. The significance of culture to shaping awareness and attitudes will steadily grow. Thus this concerns a broad development of culture, promotion of amateur and professional creativity, awakening of social sensitiveness, search for inspirations in the values of history and the present. Non-socialist cultural models must lose their influence. Thus, creative artists must feel responsible for the shaping of native socialist cultural models.

Cultural traditions in Silesia are very strong, particularly in the amateur movement. Thus, despite the problems in culture-propagating centers, the amateur movement must be further developed. In its role as the maecenas of the arts, the state should provide more tangible aid to professional artists--aid in obtaining materials and premises.

#### Problems of the Economy

The delegates and invited guests listened attentively to the speech of the Katowice Province Governor, Div Gen Pilot comrade Roman Paszkowski, on the socio-economic situation of Katowice Province and the achievements so far and intentions of the province's administration. The ordering of socio-political life in 1982 provided the conditions for normal work. Conscientious work of miners since the beginning of that year served to replenish the stocks of coal and supply it to the population of the entire country as well as to abolish electricity restrictions. In May 1982 the decline in production was halted in every field of economy in Katowice Province. At the same time, a report on the province's critical state, together with specific proposals was prepared from the long-range standpoint. These proposals met with the understanding of the central authorities and the Resolution No 132 of the Council of Ministers provided the conditions for a gradual elimination of long-neglected problems that are particularly vexatious in the sphere of the social infrastructure. Comprehensive and long-term measures were taken on the four most important issues: water supply, the expansion of the central heating network which is crucial to the expansion of housing construction, the streamlining and renovation of public transit and control over natural environment. The development of industry was subordinated to the concerns of the people.

During the just ended term of office of the province party echelon, despite such difficult conditions, significant progress was recorded in many fields. For example, last year 17 schools and 46 preschools were opened to accommodate the demographic peak--despite the crisis these figures were higher than for the entire past 5-year period. Here it is worth noting that the non-investment approach and volunteer civic projects are effective ways of improving the social infrastructure. However, much still remains to be done. The achievements of the 1982-1983 period still have not resulted in a radical improvement in the living conditions of the population of Katowice Province, but the plans worked out should contribute to improving them.

The living problems of the population as exemplified by Bedzin were also discussed by the mayor of that city, comrade Zdzislaw Suchoszek. New investments in housing construction will not avert the necessity of salvaging the existing housing stock and municipal service facilities. The progressive decapitalization of buildings requires their proper care and not only the allocation of financial outlays for this purpose but also the strengthening of the capacities of construction-repair enterprises and the expansion of personnel and the material base.

During the discussion of the attitude toward work, on stressing the need to improve our economy and its mechanisms, it was stated that, in working conscientiously, the miners have the right to demand the same conscientious work of others. Yet there is still no lack of people who confine themselves to reporting for work without working as they should even though they are provided with the needed raw and other materials and conditions.

Next to mining, the most important subsector of industry is metallurgy. Metallurgical workers were among the first to grasp the complexity and gravity of the country's economic situation and, although the years 1980-1981 had complicated their already difficult situation, they display extreme devotion to their work. However, as emphasized by comrade Andrzej Tomczewski, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Katowice Iron and Steel Plant, the modernization of the Polish iron and steel industry is indispensable. He offered a detailed plan of measures he deems necessary in this respect, measures which a few years hence should yield not only savings of raw materials and energy and increased quantity and improved quality of output, but also and above all should contribute to improving ecological conditions and environmental protection. He also proposed that a commission for metallurgy be established under the PZPR Province Committee.

A factor in increasing production is the proper shaping of the ratio of labor productivity to wages. An end should be put to experimenting and the introduction of the wage reform expedited. This was discussed, among other things, by comrade Stanislaw Rok, brigade leader and automation expert at the Zawiercie Iron and Steel Plant.

Comrade Ryszard Borek, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Tychy State Machinery Station, declared that the quality of production is decided not just by those who make the final product. It is difficult, for example, to maintain a proper quality of motor vehicles when using materials of improper quality or substitute materials, or when supplier plants do not adhere to their obligations.

A disturbing phenomenon is the continuing reluctance to resort to domestic design and technology solutions. This is of a certainty a survival of the former fascination with the policy of acquiring costly foreign licenses. Discussing this, comrade Jozef Bik, a scientific associate of the Institute of the Metallurgy of Iron in Gliwice, presented certain problems of R&D centers.

Problems of increasing production for export were illuminated by comrade Wilibald Ottlik, deputy director for economic and trade affairs at the RAFAMET FO [expansion unknown] in Kuznia Raciborska.

The conference participants who raised issues relating to the feeding of the population included not only those occupationally linked to agriculture.

This matter was also commented upon by a guest at the conference, Marian Karasek, Chairman of the ZSL Province Committee. He offered the reminder that, pursuant to the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum and the joint plenary session of the PZPR and ZSL province committees, cooperation is being continued and will bear even greater fruit. He also stressed that the cooperation between the allied parties has acquired the air of partnership and indispensability.

Jerzy Jozwiak, the chairman of the Province SD [Democratic Party] Committee, declared that "we have behind us a jointly traveled road. Socialism is a cause to our entire nation. Our alliance was born of community of interests and unity of purpose. We face common tasks--the stabilization of economic life as well as the fundamental issue, namely, overcoming the economic collapse."

The conditions for national accord are being created by the growing PRON movement. Comrade Andrzej Pawliszewski, chairman of the Province PRON Council, declared that this movement has undergone--and passed--many tests. Activists from Katowice Province are making a significant contribution to this movement. He said: "Communists alone cannot build socialism. Many people still fear that this movement will be short-lived politically. Hence, its continued support and the propagation of the idea of accord by party members in, among other things, educational programs would be of definite advantage to this movement." Concluding his speech, he wished the newly elected authorities and the province party organization a successful implementation of the decisions voted upon by the conference.

In addition, the following comrades took the floor in the discussion: Helena Migurska, director of the plant house of culture (ZDK) at the Zygmunt Iron and Steel Plant in Bytom; Witold Kolaska, director of the State Machinery Station in Jawiszowice; Stanislaw Skinderowicz, truck driver from Chrzanow; Janusz Sek, first secretary of the Gieraltowice Gmina PZPR Committee; Anna Musiolik, director of Combined School No 2 in Jastrzebie; Waldemar Rykala, engineer in charge of technological progress at Czerwone Zagłębie Mine in Sosnowiec, and the members of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee--Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner and Jerzy Romanik, miner at Siemianowice Mine. The speeches of the latter two are published separately.

## ITALIAN JOURNAL ON MARXIST CRITICISM REVIEWED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jan-Feb 84 pp 94-95

[Review by Daniel Daianu: "CRITICA MARXISTA, No 1-4, 1983"]

[Text] The year 1983 marked the 21st anniversary of the prestigious Italian journal CRITICA MARXISTA. Edited by the respectable publishing house of the Italian Communist Party, Riuniti, and issued bimonthly, CRITICA MARXISTA stands out as one of the strong platforms for progressive discussion of the contemporary sociopolitical, economic, and cultural problems of Italian society, Europe, and the world. Its intellectual excellence, its exceptional substance and universal dimension, as well as the profoundly innovative and antidogmatic character of the words sheltered by its pages, confer upon this journal a special role in the crowded and diversified landscape of ideas printed throughout the world. We do not believe to be exaggerating when we say that CRITICA MARXISTA now stands as a complete reference, enhancing the significance and fertilizing the Marxist thinking of our times.

For the researcher, or the reader who wants to penetrate more intimately into the rich vein of thinking represented by Italian Marxism, contact with CRITICA MARXISTA is indispensable. There exists no feature, major topic, or problem in this thought that has not been reflected, developed, or even formulated in the journal. We thus encounter not only the moments of fundamental growth and maturation personified by Antonio Gramsci, and both earlier and later by Antonio Labriola and Palmiro Togliatti, but also such highly relevant historical instances as the years 1944 (Svolta di Salerno), 1956, 1968, and so on.

"The Italian Way to Socialism," later called "Terza via" and in a new formulation "Terza fasc.", is reflected in its essence of complex social, theoretical, and practical construction issued from and penetrating into the realities of a relatively advanced industrial society, and of a synthesis of personal evaluation of the socialist phenomenon throughout the world from a retrospective and future viewpoint with a broad coverage over time and space. When a number of communist parties in advanced capitalist nations (including Japan) supported with solid arguments the premises and requirements for an alternative path of transition toward socialism, such famous names as Nicola

Badaloni, Giuseppe Boffa, Massimo Cacciari, Umberto Cerroni, Gerardo Chiaromonte, Biagio de Giovanni, Luciano Gruppi, Romando Ledda, Lombardo Radice, Eugenio Somaini, Aldo Tortorella, Giuseppe Vacca, and so on, attempted to explain Eurocommunism not as a model that must be compared to the experience of "real socialism," but as "a search within the concrete history of western Europe, inspired by a world history perspective, by genuine internationalism" (A. Tortorella, 1). This context makes it possible to also understand the connections with socialist construction in other countries, showing that "political solidarity with USSR and an analysis of the contradictions in true socialism are one single task, being the only way to demonstrate the extent to which the Russian experience can or cannot constitute--in addition to a point of central reference--the motive idea of western socialism" (G. Vacca, 2).

Frequent references to Gramsci and Togliatti allow some leading Italian communists to state that "Marx did not offer a general theory for the historical transition from one type of society to another" (U. Cerroni, 3), that "Bernstein, Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Buharin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong offered few indications about the so-called power take-over," and that "the theory of politics, which is implicit in Marx, becomes conscious in Gramsci" (E. Hobsbawm). The theory of state consequently plays a large role in analyses which among other things, show that "the traditional view of the state gives preference to the volition-political element, ignoring almost entirely the institutional element, ...with attention being focused on measures for socializing the means of production, thus removing the other finality of socialism, ...the socialization of political power" (U. Cerroni, 4); the socialization of political power is considered as a determinant in the process for democratizing society (M. Cacciari, 5). In this respect, an examination is made of the hegemony apparatus situation, which becomes the principal battlefield in the struggle for social change (L. Radice, 6), since faced with the new political reality of the advanced capitalist society, "complete conquest and substitution of the state apparatus is not possible."

Extremely interesting analyses are conducted on the nature and functions in society of the working class communist party, a party which "without being tributary to dogmas and ideologisms, must be a richly cultured intellectual and a highly democratic community institution" (U. Cerroni). Developed in this context are such concepts as political pluralism, historical block, hegemony, and so on. In referring to political pluralism, for instance, which was first used by Gramsci (N. Badaloni, 7), it is pointed out that it "seeks an expansion of the masses-politics connection, such that the individualization of direct centers of political productivity occur at the level of social demands" (B. de Giovanni, 8). And referring to political democracy, it is shown that the "rediscovery of the value of democracy is not only a return to an important part of Marx's thinking, but also the fruit of critical reflection" (G. Chiaromonte, 9). From this perspective, a firm reply is offered to the opinions that an acceptance of the battlefield represented by the western type of political democracy would mean a regression toward the attempts at social change of social-democratic parties. In reality, these opinions contain an element of mystification because they make no distinction

between the experiments conducted as part of political democracy, deny their variety and the results obtained, and establish as a line of principle that new ways are inaccessible (A. Tortorella, 10). Further on, it is noted that "within political democracy, such as it has evolved in many of the western capitalist nations, there exists a great variety of experiences associated with the activity of progressive forces, of social-democratic, socialist, and communist parties, which concern not only economic and social aspects, but those of an institutional order as well (A. Tortorella).

Among the topics covered more consistently during 1982 and 1983 are cultural problems in Italian society (1, 1982), political democracy and the social state (4, 1982), new aspects of the technologic revolution (5, 1982), the leftist movement in western Europe (1, 1983), and Marx and contemporaneity (2-3, 1983).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "L'Anomalia Comunista," CM, 1, 1979.
2. "Tre domande a sessant'anni dalla Rivoluzione d'ottobre," CM, 3, 1977, p 90.
3. "Problemi dello transizione al socialismo," CM, 3-4, 1976, pp 55-56.
4. Op. cit., p 64.
5. "Transformazione dello Stato e progetto politico," CM, 5, 1978, p 34.
6. "Un socialismo da inventare," CM, 4, 1978, p 78.
7. "Tre domande a sessant'anni dalla Rivoluzione d'ottobre," p 66.
8. "Lenin, Gramsci e base teorica del pluralismo," CM, 3-4, 1976, p 39.
9. "Tre domande a sessant'anni dalla Rivoluzione d'ottobre," p 75.
10. "I fatti di Polonia e la concezione del socialismo," CM, 1, 1982, p 13.

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## CURRENT ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 10 Jan 84 pp 37-41

[Article by Al. Tanase: "Philosophy of History in Current Discussions of Ideas"]

[Text] History is the development of man and the process of social evolution. Man is just as much a historical being as he is a social and cultural being. His social and cultural character is manifested and demonstrated in history, while lending creative substance and significance to the historical process. While from the ontological (existential) standpoint man has been a historical being from the very "moment" he became homo sapiens and homo faber, from the epistemological and axiological point of view he did not come to understand and evaluate that ontic status until much later. The first manifestations of knowledge of the historical kind appeared when man became aware of his own condition and his own evolution with a past, present and future, even though his perception of the future remained very meager, limited, confused and shrouded in mystery.

Feeling for history and then awareness of history, the formation of which was decisively determined by the invention of writing and the possibility of recording more important facts and forming traditions, were the main means to man's self-awareness, giving rise to the first historical annals and chronicles in which the recorded facts are combined with myths and historical truth with mythical truth. The historical reflection was born that would aspire to the status of a science for a long time. That very aspiration was to be (and is today) a disputed one, generating many interpretations and ideological-philosophical views. Yet it was to lead, albeit not until the modern period, to a high level of historical awareness envisaging not the actual historical process itself or the particular historical facts but the theoretical and methodological concepts with which history operates as a science, namely historical ontology, epistemology and axiology or, in a word, the philosophy of history. It is a philosophical discipline foreshadowed in the works of such great thinkers, philosophers and historians of ancient times as Aristotle, Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus etc.

In Romania, after a certain period of stagnation and dogmatism wherein the philosophy of history was prohibited as well as the philosophy of culture, axiology, philosophical anthropology etc., a first volume of studies was published by the Political Publishing House [EP] in 1967 in the collection entitled "Theory

and Method in the Social Sciences," coordinated by Al. Tanase and Damian Hurezeanu. Then "The Direction of History" by Radu Florian (EP 1968) also appeared, followed by Gheorghe Toma's "Xenopol on the Logic of History" (EP 1971), and Janina Ianosi's "Historical Optimism and Pessimism" (Scientific Publishing House 1972). These works employ an open, original and creative approach to some problems that are still little studied in the Marxist philosophical-historical literature.

Several works devoted to philosophical reflection upon history have appeared in recent years, such as "Reality and Knowledge in History," by Al. Tanase and Victor Isac (EP 1980), "Philosophy of History" by Catalin Zamfir (Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House 1981), "Philosophy of History. Contemporary Views and Trends" by Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea (EP 1982), "To Write and To Make History," by Al. Zub (Junimea Publishing House 1982) and two translations, namely "Clio Judged by Bourgeois Philosophy. Contributions to Criticism of Contemporary Idealist Philosophy of History" by the Bulgarian philosopher Nikolai Iribagiakov (EP 1980) and "History and Truth" by the Polish philosopher Adam Schaff (EP 1982).

### History and Philosophy of History

The development of philosophy of history had a favorable effect both for philosophy itself (which broadened, refined and intensified its field of reflection) and for history, lending it a self-awareness that it had never had before. I should like to mention here the following conclusion of the authors Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea, that "The philosophy of history covers the general, essential problems of historical science and the theory itself of that science, so that it is understood not only as a field of applied philosophy on the subject of history or as a mere meditation upon the direction of social evolution but as a scientific theory of the unity, structure and evolution of the historical process, of the nature of knowledge of human history, of the methodological and axiological questions in the study of that history, and of the logic of historical science." (op. cit. p 15)

Therefore it may be said that the philosophy of history has given a powerful impetus to historical studies and to the efforts to understand and explain the nature of the historical process and the general laws of human evolution, while historical materialism (which some call the Marxist philosophy of history) has lent that discipline a consistently scientific basis, namely a dialectical and materialist one. As a science, history itself is becoming more aware of its scientific qualification and ontological, epistemological and axiological status. The old dispute about the individual and the general in history is approaching a resolution that will transcend both pragmatic, descriptive-factological empiricism and sterile speculativism, and consequently the rift between the general and the individual.

Among the authors cited, Catalin Zamfir helps to explain the status of historical science (with the sociologist's preoccupation with precise formulations and classifications) on the basis of a primary differentiation of the sciences according to the extent of their temporal character. He accordingly distinguishes the following groups of sciences: the atemporal sciences of the general, dealing with the general and not the individual and holding time as an invariable that

"in no way modifies the validity of the formulations," or of the possible, as theoretical sciences best corresponding to the classic model of scientific character; atemporal sciences of the individual, which depart radically from the Aristotelian definition of science by this very formulation and deal with unique subjects whose properties cannot be deduced from general laws and have predominantly descriptive functions (geography for example); temporal sciences of the individual, historical sciences primarily, investigating individual subjects in both their present forms and in their evolution. The author concludes that history as a scientific discipline has a distinctive character as a science concerned with the temporal evolution of individual subjects. He explains the interest in history by the methodological value and necessity of the principle of historicism, by the need of the sciences of the general like sociology for empirical material, and by the quite distinct relevance of the cultural and therefore basically historical subjects. As a specific variable, the time factor considerably influences the very method of historical knowledge as a reconstitution (mental reconstruction) of the past, a description of the present (both being determinist or chronological) and a stochastic prediction of the future.

Of what then does the status of history as a scientific discipline consist? Since it is concerned with the temporal evolution of individual subjects, it is important to specify its scientific qualification more clearly. Reconstitution and description of what was are necessary starting points (We need to know how the events took place) but they are not enough. There are also other requirements, such as selection of the kinds of subjects, according to their importance and degree of significance, that can concern history and can tell us what we were (through the most representative of our neighbors and their accomplishments and through larger groupings and communities of people, etc.) but also what we are and can become; emphasis upon historical events with extensive and lasting effects upon the historical process or upon the forms of social and cultural organization, overcoming the difficulties with paucity of historical facts or their abundance and complexity; determination and interpretation of the historical facts, which are not direct empirical data but sources of significant information about events in a past that is more or less difficult to discover, restore and preserve and which are to be assembled in articulated and coherent pictures of the past that can give us the most exact and succinct knowledge of the past; and explanation of the causes and ends (or direction) of the historical process. The way we follow these requirements also determines the types of history, whether circumstantial, focused upon the succession of distinct, more or less indivisible events, or social, highly typologized and succinct, emphasizing the forms of social-cultural organization and the processes that condense and epitomize the trends of human evolution.

The ontological question of the laws (or regularities) in history has been and is much disputed. As a rule the proponents of the materialist, dialectical or rationalist conceptions of the historical process assume the existence of laws in history without demonstrating of what they consist. For example, the "School of Historical Synthesis" accepts the idea of regularity, while Henri Berr battles with Benedetto Croce, who likens history to art for its very lack of laws, and with Eduard Mayer, who declares that he himself has not discovered even one law in history, which he feels is ruled by chance and by free will.

After extensive polemics with Marxist as well as non-Marxist authors over the existence and content of the so-called "specific historical laws," the Bulgarian scholar Nikolai Iribagiakov concludes that as contrasted with sociology, which is a theoretical science making generalizations from the single to the general and formulating laws of the functioning, structure and development of society as a system, history "does not discover or formulate specific historical laws of any kind" (op. cit. p 232), and therefore he does not venture any theory of society or its history. Even if some historians can discover laws of social development like the law of class struggle discovered by the French historians of the Restoration, according to Iribagiakov they are not specific historical laws that would make history the sole subject of study. They can be economic, sociological, political, cultural etc., so that their discovery and formulation are the tasks of other sciences. But that does not mean history has no theoretical quality, for it is not a mere illustration or application and verification of other sciences "of laws" but a science that clearly relies on comparison, analysis, theoretical generalizations, evaluations, criteria for evaluation, and conclusions in order to explain not only the uniqueness and individuality of events but also their connections with other events, all for the purpose of reconstructing, presenting and explaining, on the basis of knowledge of the sociological, social-psychological, economic and other laws, the actual process of social development and providing us with scientific knowledge not only of the necessary but also of the single and specific. In the last analysis, "The subject of history is the historical: the origin, formation, change and succession of social units, historical periods, peoples, social classes, nations, events etc. as processes that succeed each other in time and are causally and regularly determined, considered as real units of the haphazard and the necessary and of the single, the particular and the general." (op. cit. pp 238-239)

To return to the problem of laws, we should say that it is not a question of whether or not "specific historical laws" exist, but whether the historical process is regarded as a regularly uniform process or as a chaotic conglomeration of events. Henri Berr interprets the concept of historical law as indicating "human facts of a general nature in close connection with the single facts," making scientific knowledge and analysis of history possible. The very action of the law of causation in the succession of facts, events and processes is an essential feature of historical regularity because, as Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea say, "Henri Berr believed in the possibility of integrating the causal explanation in history as a fundamental element of the general determinism of the human facts, and he militated for an intrinsic causal analysis of historical phenomena and for disclosure of the kind of connection whose texture lends human history a uniform character." (op. cit. p 82)

Accordingly history is a science, but because of the nature of the subject and of its methods and operations (discovery of the facts, assembly and construction of the image of the past, explanation and axiological classification) it conforms to a scientific model other than the traditional classic one or that of the sciences whose main task is to discover and formulate laws.

However their interpretations differ, the cited authors are convinced that now more than ever the philosophy of history is essential to the historian, helping him perceive and improve his objectives and methods and offering a new perspective to all those interested in any aspect of human evolution.

## Historical Knowledge, Explanation and Truth

The most difficult problems that arise in connection with history are those concerning the nature of historical knowledge and explanation, because they ultimately involve the very status of history as a science.

The nature of historical knowledge depends upon the nature of the subject of that knowledge, which is not and cannot be a direct reality but one that must be discovered and reconstructed from traces and fragments of the past, which are sometimes very meager and incomplete, and from evidences of vanished worlds and of past facts, processes, events and actions which, however, are the basis of man's real history and the source of the present and the timeliness of any historical period.

But the main difficulty with historical knowledge and explanation lies in the way the principles of determinism are combined with the unity and uniqueness of the historical facts, or the objectivity of historical awareness with the historian's subjective participation in the interpretation and explanation of the investigated events. Adam Schaff uses as an introduction to his book "History and Truth" a very succinct and interesting analysis of the different, sometimes diametrically opposed ways in which historians of different ideological and methodological persuasions have explained and interpreted the French Revolution on the basis of the same historical, socioeconomic and political facts. The procedure is highly instructive for an understanding of how difficult historical knowledge and objectivity are.

Catalin Zamfir contributes to explanation of historical phenomena by making a clever dissociative analysis between the comprehensive method and that of scientific explanation and between circumstantial and structural explanation.

In the post-Kantian and neo-Kantian schools of philosophy, the promotion of the comprehensive method indicates emphasis upon creative subjectivity and feeling. Zamfir brings out both the limitations and the value of this method. Its shortcomings are due to the nature of the historical phenomena and their remoteness in time. It is inapplicable to remote facts, the forms of social organization, etc. On the other hand it is fertile in connection with actions of great personalities, when the subject of the historical knowledge is an agent, a person, a subject or individual acts. For cultural works we must also employ a certain sympathetic understanding, a feeling for them on the level of consciousness and sensibility. This method cannot produce verifiable results, but there can be no doubt as to its cognitive and educational value, since it always involves a dialogue and a meeting of human subjectivities that can never replace scientific explanation but neither can it be eliminated or avoided, because it always accompanies the historian's subjective ego, intentions and intuition by virtue of his subjective and participative human nature itself. In this regard the comprehensive method is "an essential way of man to broaden his knowledge of himself through knowledge of another... The result is awareness of his identity as the human species independently of time and place." (Catalin Zamfir, op. cit. p 109)

It is evident that scientific explanation, especially for certain kinds of historical facts, has a greater cognitive effectiveness. It can also be applied to

circumstantial facts, despite their uniqueness, because here too selections, classifications, generalizations and explanatory procedures are possible that not even empiricism can avoid. "Empiricism is actually the epistemological illusion of historical practice, which employs theoretical laws implicit in historical explanations," (p 127) because even a mere description or narration of events contains an implicit explanatory theory.

The problem is that of overcoming the prejudice that the only theoretical view is the synchronic, structural one, and that such a view would be foreign to history by its very nature, whereas actually the horizon of history does not call for just one particular kind of explanation and scientific quality. On the contrary both kinds of explanation are encountered here too, in varying degrees according to the subject being studied. Structural analysis does not exclude the events from history but converts the history of events into social history, in which the structures' invariability in time is combined with a temporal view of their origin and transformation, and the event acquires its true significance as an active factor in the evolution of the historical process. While the structure better illuminates and fixes the role of the event, the latter can in its turn become a generator of structures.

This way of posing the problem also makes it possible to answer another question that has arisen rather recently in the historical sciences, namely whether or not prediction is possible in history and of what does it consist? Prediction is a consequence and an implication of determinism, but the quality, value and type of the prediction depend upon the type of determinism. In the historical disciplines the problem of prediction has also arisen under the impetus of the growing interest in exploring the future and the formation of a science of the future to deal with the nature of such forecasts and the historical alternatives presented by social development and required by the plurality of solutions. "From the viewpoint of the human community, the predictability of history becomes purposeful forecasting and planning. In this respect socialism is an entirely new stage in the history of society." (p 182)

The problem of truth is an essential one in historical epistemology. Even here there is a vacillation between the conception of truth as the result of mere passive reflection, with no contribution of the subject, and a simple descriptive reproduction of the events (the empirical, positivist schools) and the conception of truth as a subjective construction of the historian (the subjectivist and relativist schools). In the second case the object of history, namely the past as such, cannot be separated from the subject. Otherwise positivism, or at least some variants of it, agrees with subjectivism in denying the objective content of historical knowledge because the concepts with which history operates do not reflect existing structures or real processes but are symbols, "pure ideas" or tools of thought with no ontological relevance. Therefore it is still an open question (from the standpoint of these interpretations) whether historical knowledge is possible in the sense of truth and objectivity independent of the historian's subjective judgment. It is apparent that here more than anywhere historicism involves a good measure of relativity, but that does not mean contesting the possibility of knowledge of the truth. "In the course of the historical process the dialectics of the relationship between the objective and the subjective takes specific form in the fact that man is both the object and the subject of history and that the subject exists in the historical reality itself.

Therefore historical knowledge takes the form of 'self-knowledge' because it reveals his own history to man." (Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea, op. cit. p 238)

Adam Schaff correlates the objectivity of historical truth with the concept of historical fact, which is also one of the most disputed. The tendency to subjectivize historical facts in idealist interpretations is due to the circumstance that those facts cannot be directly perceived and no direct contact with them is possible. But this situation occurs in the most diverse fields and is no exception to historical knowledge. Only empirical cognitive acts directly pertain to the object studied, and only actual perceptions permit such directness. The historical fact as an epistemological concept is not the pure datum with a definite ontological status but a construction of the historian, who proceeds by selecting, correlating, collating and indicating and by explaining and evaluating. The objectivity of the truth does not mean total impartiality or absolute homogeneity of value judgments. Hegel said in his "Lectures on the Philosophy of History" that "Even a historiographer who believes and maintains that he is content to be a mere recorder strictly complying with the data cannot be indifferent to his thoughts but brings his own categories with him, through which he views what is in front of him." It is the inevitable subjectivity of the historian, which is not necessarily a bad one distorting or obscuring the truth.

Objectivity requires detachment from the negative and disturbing effect of the subjective factor (like the Baconian "idols") and not rejection of any subjectivity, while "good" subjectivity of a psychological, axiological or such a nature is fully compatible with the effort to be impartial. It stems from the active role of the subject, the historian, who cannot think outside the categories and values of a period, a society, the nation to which he belongs, or a given intellectual climate. Adam Schaff said, "If objectivity of knowledge meant the exclusion of all individual traits of the human personality, if impartiality consisted of uttering judgments forsaking one's own viewpoint and one's own set of values, and if the universal validity of the judgments lay in eliminating all individual and collective differences, objectivity would be a pure and simple fiction because it would assume that man is a superhuman being." (op. cit. p 326)

#### Ideological Disputes About the Philosophy of History

Two of the cited works are specially devoted to this problem, namely "Clio Before the Judgment of Bourgeois Philosophy" by Nikolai Iribagiakov, with the subtitle "Contributions to the Critique of the Contemporary Idealist Philosophy of History," and "The Philosophy of History" by Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea, with the subtitle "Contemporary Views and Trends." The former is well documented, with a good bibliography and some noteworthy personal contributions, but it is one-sided in its attitude toward the non-Marxist conceptions in history, often to the point of total rejection in its criticism of them (justified, to be sure), to the exclusion of the fertile dialogue. On the other hand, the historian Marin Badea and the philosopher Pamfil Nichitelea offer us a model of creative, receptive criticism, in a spirit of dialogue and evaluation, of some non-Marxist views of philosophy of history beginning with one of the most interesting ones, "The Theory of Synthesis in History."

This French school originated in the 18th century French Illuminists and particularly Voltaire, who freed the study of history not only from medievalist providentialism but also from its methodology of insignificant details and directed it toward facts and processes for synthesis (morals, customs) or civilization in the broad sense of the word. The idea of synthesis, enriched by the Romantic interpretation of history as a structure, was revived in the 19th century, especially among the French historians of the Restoration. The same century also produced the two general trends: history as erudition with meticulous study of the facts, and history in an abstract perspective, viewed primarily as a philosophy of history. These trends were influenced either by positivist-empirical philosophies or by idealist-speculative philosophies. It was not until the end of the 19th century and the first decades of this century that the "School of Historical Synthesis" took form (thanks primarily to Henri Berr, literary critic and philosopher of the group) in an active and productive polemic against traditional historiography, on the basic premise that no scientific efforts of any kind should be divorced from the problems of real life or the real needs of the consciousness. This school originated in H. Berr's work "La synthese des connaissances et l'histoire" and the International Center for Synthesis, the publisher of REVISTA DE SINTEZA ISTORICA, which was to have a wide circle of contributing historians and philosophers (including A. D. Xenopol).

As these two authors said, the idea of historical synthesis is primarily opposed to the positivist conception of history as a conglomeration of facts and tries to form "a uniform concept of history" and to bring out the general elements, the basic forms of human activity (primarily economic and social), the regularities and repetitions, the institutions and forms of culture, and the history of the ideas and progress of civilization. It is also opposed to narrow specialties and calls for the cooperation of those who study various forms of social-historical activity. Accordingly historical synthesis is not an arbitrary or speculative construction but the result of intensive study of the historical facts, classified by Berr into three types, namely fortuitous, individual and necessary, as opposed to their treatment as ultimate and to hypostatizing chance but regarding economic evolution as primary.

Essentially, historical synthesis is based on analysis of man's activity as a specific social being and of the relations between the individual and society, between the individual and history, and between the individual's activity and historical necessity, making it possible to bring out the role of the peoples and the personality in history. In historiographic practice, the idea of historical synthesis varies with the most diverse forms of historical truth and on various levels of knowledge and generalization of the historical past. In Berr's view, "Synthesis must study the point of intersection between knowledge and action in history, and accordingly it studies the problem of its own usefulness."

At first glance and according to the traditional view of history as solely circumstantial history, history and structuralism would seem incompatible in principle. But now Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea, tapping a wealth of technical literature, demonstrate the fertility of the structural method in historical knowledge. Under the clear and attested influence of Marxism, structuralism itself has been increasingly attracted by knowledge of systems of relation in which, however preferred the synchronic may be, the evolution (diachrony) of the treated systems is not ignored either.

Actually the contribution of structuralism is coming to transcend circumstantial history as an external succession of single, isolated events. As the two authors note, the emphasis upon structures permits exploration of more profound areas of social-historical existence and development of studies of historical semantics or even the idea of epistemes (code, structure, matrix) formulated by Foucault but which we can reconsider in a dialectical spirit. The effectiveness of the structural method depends upon its subordination to a historical-dialectical view. Otherwise even a sensible structuralist like Levi-Strauss can understand history only as "a method with no distinct object" that "must eliminate all that it owes to the event and human reflection" if it wants to become truly scientific.

In the dialectically interpreted historical reality "the structural and the circumstantial form a contradictory dialectical unity that determines the dialectical unity of the logical and the historical methods on the methodological level." (p 145) Therefore out of the structural approach let us retain the effort toward accuracy and objectivity and the opposition to subjectivism, relativism, "flat and pragmatic ideographism," and even to empirical historicism, but let us reject the structuralist dichotomy between the scientific and the ideological (axiological). Marxist historicism is of another kind, being based upon the dialectical unity between the general and the individual, chance and necessity, structure and evolution, and the circumstantial and the regular in history.

We find an interesting in-depth discussion of presentism in Adam Schaff's book and in that of Marin Badea and Pamfil Nichitelea.

Presentism began in some western countries (primarily in the United States and Italy) but also among some Marxist historians as a reaction against positivism, whose claim to know and write history exactly as it was, without feeling, partiality or commitment, was refuted. Representatives of this school like Conyers Read and Ch. H. Beard, tried to reinstate the constructive role of the knowledgeable subject (the historian), who has an active, committed and partisan relationship with the object of history which, according to some presentists, becomes "a mere projection of the ideas and interests of the present upon the accumulated data of historical experience." (C. Read) To be sure presentism notes a real and important characteristic of historical knowledge, which cannot avoid social commitment and ideological partisanship, but the radicalism of that school leads to total subjectivism and relativism, which ultimately nullify any possibility of historical truth.

Badea and Nichitelea contrast presentism (which brings the past into the present and makes it a factor for consolidation of the present even at the sacrifice of the truth) with retrospectivism, which separates the historical past from the present and reduces the object of historical knowledge to *res gestae*, past facts and events. The two authors quite rightly say that this is not a matter of a mere theoretical dispute but actually an essential problem of historical knowledge, namely the relationship between history and present considerations. Is purposeful commitment to the latter (which is different from invocation of a vague present or forced servitude to the moment) incompatible in principle with the standard of objectivity of historical knowledge? It is not easy to reconcile the two considerations, but their presence is inevitable in any historical determination. The historian's sense of social responsibility does not allow

him to evade either the standard of objectivity or that of timeliness (present considerations), and the way out of the dilemma of objectivism-positivism or subjectivist presentism lies in a new interpretation of the historical fact and of the subject-object relationship in historical knowledge, and in application of Marxist sociological knowledge to historical knowledge.

In the Marxist philosophy of history the historical past does not appear as a "subjective experience" updated by life but as a regular, necessary succession of systems of facts, processes, social structures and forms of culture which we know by their "traces" recorded in documents, by their more or less lasting effects, and by what the present owes to the past, and it takes the form of a concentrated, composite result of the latter. That is the only way the present can be a launching pad into the past without risking loss of the historical process, by proceeding from effects to causes. Then the present and timeliness function as a higher epistemological and methodological level of knowledge. It is not the present as such nor the commitment in itself that causes distortions leading to a one-sided empirical interpretation of the historical facts or purely and simply to their arbitrarily subjectivist treatment, but hypostatizing (absolutizing) a narrow, one-sided commitment misrepresenting the truth. The philosophical concept of commitment and that of timeliness are opposed both to empiricist, positivist objectivism and to voluntarist conjuncturalism and subjectivist arbitrariness.

The variability of the image of the past, which is not laid down once and for all but changes and develops, is not incompatible with objectivity of historical knowledge and cannot be used as an argument in support of presentism. Continuous reinterpretation and rewriting of history to meet the needs and requirements of the present are quite different from presentist subjectivism and relativism. They follow from the cumulative character itself of historical truth, from the changes in historians' views from one period to the next, and from improvement in methods of investigation and criteria for judgment.

#### Educational Value of History and Historical Knowledge

Reflections upon history's function range between tragic, immobilizing pessimism reducing history to futility and frustration and a constant source of tragic awareness and even of danger to human life, and facile, superficial optimism seeing in it a triumphal procession of the good, always with a benign and favorable finish. For example Paul Valery states that "History is the most dangerous product made by the chemistry of our intellects. It justifies anything and teaches us absolutely nothing. Conversely, the English historian and philosopher of history Arnold Toynbee was convinced that history teaches people how to learn and how to make free and wise choices.

It is a question of the direction of history and historical axiology, which is based upon the idea of progress in history and the criteria for it, substantiation of value judgments envisaging the rationality and end result of the historical process, and combination of the objective, subjective, social and human criteria for that process. Catalin Zamfir analyzes three models of evolution in his book, clearly opting for the multilinearity theory, innovation and diffusion as factors in evolution but especially for the idea of direction of history, which "refers to the logic characteristic of human societies' evolution in time." That idea includes both the oriented process or evolution and the final stage,

which is not a historical end of the line but a stage of stable organization and equilibrium that can affect the historical consciousness itself in one way or another.

The cyclical rise or decline of the historical process concerns us here because it helps us understand human vicissitudes better, as well as history as a contradictory (instituting, integrating, articulating and dislocating, and orderly or disorderly) shifting of values, and the prospects of human evolution. And the entire question of the direction of history is devoid of significance and educational value anyway outside of the human factor, the axiological consciousness of man's present and future prospects, and the humanistic models of production and consumption, society, civilization and creation of values. The problem in itself would merit a separate analysis. I should like to make only one point in connection with the educational function of history and historical awareness that is brought up in the works mentioned at the beginning of this article.

It should be noted that the most effective way in which history as a science and philosophical consideration of history contribute to the education of individuals and communities is by way of the national values and the nation's and people's self-awareness. The extremely harsh conditions under which the Romanian people were formed and evolved and their great moral and intellectual qualities soon lent them a special historical sensitivity and a profound and stirring sense of self-awareness that was developed and enriched over the centuries, as well as a superior philosophical and ethical way of enduring and accepting the historical period, which was not identified with the mythical period but was never contrasted with it in Romania. The "terror of history" of which Mircea Eliade spoke caused the Romanian to see in history and to make of history a supreme lesson in patriotism, a hymn of the national soul, and a constant source of moral wisdom and feeling as the only way a people can attain self-awareness. At the beginning of the modern era, in the period of preparing and waging the 1848 Revolution, the great Romantic visionary Nicolae Balcescu embodied the Romanian people's historical philosophy like no other, displaying a boundless confidence in the Romanian people's spirited vitality and ability to accept and shape their great historic destiny. Balcescu understood better than any of his contemporaries that the history of the Romanians was written with blood and bones scattered throughout the land and with the hearts, reason and feelings of tens of generations before it was written with the pen as a major book of records for our historical awareness.

Al. Zub's book entitled "To Write and to Make History" is highly significant in this respect. It refers to post-Pasoptist Romanian historiography, a transitional stage between the revolutionary period of Pasoptism and the great classical period wherein the ideological-intellectual superstructures of Romanian society were maturing, including historical thought. It was a period that could not yet produce a masterpiece of the genre but one whose prominent men gave us a stirring patriotic lesson on how writing history is fruitfully involved with making history in the most concrete (I would say militant) sense of the word. Al. Zub quotes Mihail Kogalniceanu's words at the ad hoc Assembly of Moldavia concerning the Pasoptist generation: "...The great day has come when we do not just write but make the history of Romania."

The Iasi historian's book is impressive because of a documentation that seems to exhaust the proposed subject but no less so because of its rich subject matter

and the main ideas that guide it in describing the period, namely the stage of development and major aims of Romanian society, the social-political background, and the vitality of patriotic feelings in the search for new courses of action to overcome the states of confusion, bewilderment and deception that followed the defeat of the revolution. It was in such periods that history "appeared as a source of energy and creativeness" (p 28) in the effort to carry out the national ideal and to modernize the structures of Romanian society "so that the Romanian nation may integrate its efforts harmoniously in European civilization." (p 30) It was the great obsession of the period and it also influenced historiography intensively, dominated as it was by the major aim of writing a national history. All historians of the period were united by Balcescu's conviction and advice to view and value history as a factor for sensitizing national awareness and as "a salutary source of hope" and optimistic confidence in the future of the Romanian nation.

Of course historical knowledge was not solely motivated by the purely intellectual reasons of a natural curiosity to know the past, but primarily by the imperious necessities of a historical period that was heading for the great acts of civilization and culture that would institute modern, united, free and independent Romania.

Al. Zub devoted the last part of his book to what he calls the "Theoretical and Methodological Horizon," where we shall find quite a few elements of philosophy of history and of interrelation of historical thought with views of social philosophy. But the historian's philosophical receptiveness is not due to his intellectual background alone but particularly to the completeness and relevance of the subject matter and the need of extensive in-depth reasoning of a patriotic nature subordinated to the national ideal. Accordingly the philosophy, or the philosophy of history, is the result of purposeful commitment to the collective effort to write history while making it and to make it while writing it.

The conclusion drawn from Al. Zub's book, which in fact the author expressly formulates, is that the efforts toward objectivity, a critical and lucid spirit, and professionalization of historiography do not interfere with its most characteristic note, namely patriotic militantism, which is so necessary and beneficial in a period of rapid social changes when knowledge of the past becomes a source of experience in the actions of the present and when the people's future is based squarely upon the close tie of past, present and future. That knowledge was and is today all the more necessary because, as Kogalniceanu said, "Our beginning has been denied, our name has been changed, our land has been broken up, and our rights have been trampled underfoot."

Thanks to their living conditions and their ethos, the Romanian people displayed a striking historical awareness very early, which created a constant capacity of the Romanian intellectuality for perseverance and for the noble ideals of national unity, freedom and dignity. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech on the 65th anniversary of the formation of the unified Romanian national state, study of the Romanian people's glorious history should evoke "the saga of their continuity on the age-old ancestral homeland and the heroic battles fought over the centuries against foreign oppressors and for the preservation of their own existence and the formation of the Romanian nation, and for social and national freedom and justice."